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ABSTRACT

This document contains the texts of 57 papers, 10 roundtables, and 7 symposia from a Canadian conference on adult education and public policy. The following are among the papers included: "Childhood, Schooling Family and Community" (Margarida Aguiar); "Voices Inside" (Irene C. Baird); "Beyond Personal Agency" (Rose Barg); "Participatory Research, Education and Rural Farmers" (Bijoy P. Barua); "La Valorisation et la Reconnaissance des Apprentissages Professionels Informels du Point du Vue de l'Autoformation" (Olivier Bataille); "Why Distance Education?" (Patricia Beatty-Guenter); "The Body's Tale" (Valerie-Lee Chapman); "Adult Education and the Production of Knowledge for Politics" (Janet Conway); "Lifelong Learning or Re-Training for Life" (Jane Cruikshank); "Policy, Accountability, and Practice in Adult Literacy Work" (Richard Darville); "Vocation in Adult Education" (Jane Dawson); "Computer-Mediated Instruction" (John M. Dirkx, Edward W. Taylor); "If You Knew Now What We Didn't Know Then" (Catherine C. Dunlop); "Career Development and Advancement Patterns of Aboriginal Executives in the Canada Federal Public Service" (Rocky J. Dwyer); "Changing Policy from the Inside-out" (Karen Edge, Marilyn Laiken); "Examining Practice, Understanding Experience" (John Egan); "Gypsy Scholars" (Tara Fenwick); "The Limits of 'Informal Learning'" (Rachel Gorman); "Lifelong Learning" (Andre P. Grace); "The Experiences and Practice of Adult Educators in Addressing Spirituality within the Workplace" (Janet Groen); "Global,

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Local and Individual Learning Environments" (Charmaine Ing); "Informing Policy: (Cheryl Jeffs); "Women's Ways of Protesting" (Dorothy A. Lander); "Learning in a Trade Union" (Susanne Kopsen, Staffan Larsson); "Exploring Teaching Roles and Responsibilities in Adult Literacy Education" (Karen M. Magro); "Learning and the Law" (Susan E. McDonald); "The Role of the Outsider in Creating Education Policy" (Katherine McManus); "Constructing Resistance" (Kiran Mirchandani, Bonnie Slade); "Policy and Learning Program for the Malaysian Elderly" (Mazanah Muhamad, Mazalan Kamis); "Teaching Choice" (Michael Newman); "Creating Access" (Ruth Price); "Responding to '911'" (Timothy Pyrch); "The Original Raging Grannies" (Carole Roy); "An Alternative Consciousness" (Stephanie Rutherford); "Learning in the Union Local" (Peter H. Sawchuk); "The Relationship between Espoused and Enacted Beliefs about Teaching Adults" (Edward W. Taylor, John M. Dirkx); and "Understanding the Zone of Proximal Development in Adult Literacy Learning" (Maurice Taylor, Judy King, Christine Pinsent-Johnson). Many papers include substantial bibliographies. (MN)

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L'Association Canadienne pour l'Etude de l'Education des Adultes (ACÉÉA)

21st Annual Conference, May 30 – 31 & June 1
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Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education
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CALL FOR PAPERS

21st Annual Conference
May 30-31 & June 1st, 2002
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto
Due Date: November 30, 2001

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE CONTESTED TERRAIN OF PUBLIC POLICY

Public policy has been experiencing extensive transformations in the context of the privileging of the market by the state. The Western democratic states endorse public policies which advance the interests of the private sector over the public sector, individuals, and non-state entities. In the last three decades, the state and the market have strengthened their alliances.

The delegation of all power to the market has been associated with a widening gap between the rich and the poor. There is, at the same time, a growing global mobilizing against privatization of publicly provided services. In this context it seems timely for educators/learners/practitioners to rethink the relationship between adult education, public policy and civil society. The core questions are:

- How have adult educators/learners/practitioners participated in developing, implementing, resisting, and changing public policies globally, nationally, and locally?
- How has adult education been implicated in the dismantling of public policy?
- How have adult education theories and practices been inspired, informed, and evolved through public policies?
- How have adult education theories and methodologies been affected by or have influenced public polices?
- What are possibilities and opportunities for adult educators/learners/practitioners and the field to contribute to alternative policy making?

Proposals may address some of the following public policy areas or issues: Anti-racism, anti-colonialism, citizenship, employment/unemployment, equity, environment, housing/homelessness, health, human rights, labour, literacy/language, land and self-governance, mass media, multiculturalism, training/learning/skilling, the arts, trade unionism, violence, war and peace, welfare/poverty, and workplace.

Submissions may also take account of the ways multiple power positions (race, gender, class, sexuality, age, or disability), the experiences of domination and colonialism (Aboriginal People; North/South divisions, urban/rural differences), or growing global capitalist exploitation are implicated in these policies.

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Childhood, Schooling Family and Community: Reflections of Mothers

Margarida Aguiar PhD. - OISE/UT

Abstract: Canadian women in Toronto spoke to me about their lives as children, as adolescents and as adult women with school-age children. As researcher/writer, I interpreted what they said to tell (in thesis form) multiple interconnected individual and collective stories.

This paper introduces a PhD thesis completed in June 2001. The research was conceived, designed, collected, analyzed and written during the latter half of the 1990s (1994-2001). The thesis can be read in many ways. One, among its possible multiple readings, is as an ethnographic study of Toronto from 1959 to the Summer of 2001: -an ethnography from the perspective of Canadian women (myself included) who grew up going to schools in this city and who continued to reside in the Toronto area as adult working women (both paid & unpaid work). The women, I interviewed, attended publicly funded schools (secular public and Catholic), did not complete high school, and had children in elementary school. Not counting my parallel reflections, a total of nine mothers participated. They were asked to reflect on their past and present lives in schools, in family and in community, as children and now as adult mothers of school-age children.

The city where the study was located is known for its multi-cultural, multi-lingual, multi-racial population. One of the overall goals of the research was to participate in communicative acts (speaking, reading and writing), that could help those working within the social and educational structures of civic society (Gramsci 1971), think through (reflect) and develop (act) a pedagogy for this city (Freire 1993). Seeking understandings into the histories of lower income women from diverse ethno-racial backgrounds in Toronto, is critical for local public policy and practice in education and social services. But seeking in-depth understandings into the experiences of these women from this place can also provide insights that further our dialogues with women/children/families in other urban centres in North America and elsewhere. The many different language, racial, religious and cultural backgrounds of children and adults living, meeting and being educated in Toronto during the last half of the 20th century gives this city's experiences recognized significance. An in-depth study on life in schools, in family and in community from the perspective of women (then girls, now mothers) of diverse lower income homes in Toronto broadens and deepens our dialogues on pedagogies of cities, for cities. It is the thickness of, the multiple layers in the descriptions that enables us to compare, to intersect with similar experiences and to differ. By making common connections both among the participants of the study and by the readers, the experiences shared and/or needs identified may more strongly be affirmed. Noting differences opens up the space/s for broader, deeper and more varied dialogues.

The thesis is a documentary text on these women's lives in this place over a period of time (childhood to adult life). It is presented here, one year after its completion. As writer, I anticipated a readership beyond those participating at the thesis exam and in academic circles. I looked forward to my re-engagement with it as a reader, after having thrown the work out into the world as an exhaustive utterance seeking a response/s (Bakhtin 1986). Writing the text, it was my intent that it could be taken up as a whole or in parts, as texts to be read by individuals, or as a collection of potential codes to be used in discussion groups. The reading group/s could be theoretical, social action or both. The intent of the discussants would inform the material selected and how it would be used. The issues that may emerge from different readings could be taken up in ways that are connected: 1) to the place (Toronto or urban environments); 2) to the everyday life of adult women (family relationships, paid/unpaid work, learning, social supports, children's schools); 3) to the school-age child's day and year (an ecological view of child in community: family, school and neighbourhood); 4) to individual issues (i.e. adult education and work, day care, teen pregnancy, familial relationships, death, language, discipline etc.); and to many others issues including to communication (how we speak, read, write our understandings of the worlds in which we live). In a study that had women's lives (past and everyday present) as the point of entry into our search for understandings, all of these and other issues naturally emerged.

Within much of the recent literature in various social fields, it is often asked that research examine issues at the intersection of race, gender, class, ability, sexuality, language etc. In part, I tried to take up this challenge. But, I placed three key controls: gender, class, and place. All the participants intersected at these three points. We must recognize the role of individual agency. However, the different material and cultural constraints with which some people exercise their individual agency must also be recognized. Women who live and work in a specific urban city (geography & social policy), who have children in elementary school, and who have less financial and cultural capital (high school dropout) face a very concrete materiality that frames not only how they see their world, but also the resources that are within their reach to shape and/or change it. The discussions in this research occur within a social context that is inclusive of difference. Along with individual differences, the participants were part of three groupings of difference on the basis of race, language and ethnicity. The women grew up in White English speaking homes, White Portuguese speaking homes, Black and East Indian English speaking homes.

As I was bringing the work to completion (2000-2001), I was feeling hopeful that we were becoming exhausted (Gramsci 1971) with the social restructuring geared primarily towards deficit reduction, tax cuts and facilitating free trade between Canada and the U.S., within North America and on a world scale. Beyond the sectoral groups opposed to various aspects of social restructuring, there appeared to be emerging a broader national consensus on directing our attention to the needs and the face/s of our populations, including the face of child poverty which had become ever more visible. Some of the year's cover stories in Maclean's magazine could be viewed as illustrative of this redirection. Included among the cover issues were the following; child poverty, education, cities, immigration, a diverse peoples' nation.

After an era of market readjustment, it seemed we might be about to enter a time in which the concerns of the mothers in this study and others involved in services to children, to women and to families could be moving back to the centre of our public discourses. I was looking forward to the possibility of participating with fellow citizens in a re-engagement with this and the works of others in what might have been a post-restructuring era? Hanging on to my original intents (at times tenuously) through seven years of massive social changes; no one had anticipated that the breaks/fissures which appeared to be emerging would be struck a monumental blow (Fall 2001), thereby, re-directing attention from what had been the "freeing of markets" to defense and security. Perhaps, when the clouds of dust have settled; when the pain and fear of death is less acute; and when the "usual suspects" have exhausted "their take" on the issues and policies that address those interests, we may come together in our settlements cognizant that the best defenses at home and abroad are localities and nations with caring social, environmental, and economic policies. From such a viewpoint, we would look to public investments and collective works in social infrastructures that focus on the co-creation/re-creation of societies that serve people, all peoples. Defense and security are naturally a human part of the equation. But, it would not be at the centre. It would be negotiated in its place at the margins, at the borders. Instead, supports to children, schools, families and communities would be at the centre.

In this first part, I have briefly described the participants, the historical period and place and some of the main goals of the study (pedagogy/ies for the peoples of a city). In what follows, I will briefly weave through some of the issues and themes taken up and the theoretical framework that enabled me to write the thesis in the way/s that I did. The reader needs to keep in mind that, although the intent of this paper is to present the thesis to this audience, it is not a summary. It is another written utterance by me about the thesis (process and product) in a different context. I, as reader, have been re-examining my previously completed utterance in text, as thesis (secondary genre: Bakhtin 1986) at a another time in order to write a different text for this readership and this purpose "Adult Education and the Contested Terrain of Public Policy".

As with the writing of the thesis, the possibilities for selecting what and how to present were/are endless. Within the word that wants to be heard there are, as Bakhtin (1986) wrote, limitless possibilities within limits. This utterance, however, and the one anticipated to follow (orally) are primarily for an academic audience in the field of adult education. Part of the requirements for presenting at this conference (CASAE) included the pre-submission of this 6 page paper. The topic, my authorial intent (as writer/as speaker), the form (text/oral presentation), the addressees, the space or time (pages, minutes), the place and time of the event (Toronto, 2002) were all considered, as I worked to frame this utterance. I also problematized the familiarity the readers/audience may have with the themes and issues. Applying Bakhtinian theories, I would need to think this through as I planned to write and present the paper in order that I could best execute my intent through this forum. The degree to which I am (and we the participants are) successful, within the boundaries that have been set by the organizers and by how I responded to their call, will be determined at the time in which this communicative act/event occurs (when the reader reads, when the audience and I engage). Bakhtin (1986) also recognized that the author/speaker is not in full control of whether or not her/his intent will be understood by others at a given time and/or place. Yet, according to him, there is inherent in the human communicative act the hope that by projecting our thoughts forward into the world there is the possibility that someone, somewhere, at sometime might understand what we were trying to say. This, as Holquist (1986) wrote, is Bakhtin's notion of the superaddressee. Inherent within Bakhtin's concepts is the need that the search to know, to understand, to communicate be genuine; that the intent not be to deceive nor to propagate. The latter, as Freire (1970) also critiqued, was not a participatory search but rather mere transmission of information (banking). In genuine communication, errors and misunderstandings are natural. They, as Bakhtin (1986) wrote, become part of the dialogue that furthers and deepens our understandings.

In Ontario, compulsory schooling begins in the sixth year of a child's life. Thus far, an overwhelming majority of children attend publicly funded schools. With mothers as key informants, one of my objectives was to examine the whole of the school-age (6-12) child's day including the home, the school and the periods in between. To better understand a day, a year in the life of the school-age child, it was necessary that I also seek to understand the everyday life conditions of mothers, the significant adult upon whom this age group is dependent. In the past several decades, policies and professional practices on public schooling have been interwoven with a dialogue on parent involvement. However, the discourse has tended not only to blur the predominantly gendered nature of this mother work but also to erase differences of race and class (David 1993; Dei et al. 1997; Lareau 1989). It was the blurring and/or erasure of gender, class and race (including ethnicity and language) on parental involvement that prompted me to limit participation to lower income mothers of diverse ethno-racial backgrounds. For the purposes of this study, having dropped out of high school was the criteria by which I classified the class capital of the mothers. In my search for participants, I targeted some ethno-racial groups which local studies had identified with higher ratios of academic underachievement.

Repeated throughout various feminist bodies of knowledge is the need to examine the learning experiences of adult women in both the private and public spheres (family, schools, community and employment) from a research perspective that is grounded and integrated (Reinharz 1992; Middleton 1993; Waring 1988). By stepping out of the parent involvement and dropout discourses to pursue life history as the method of research, I included these issues. Yet, the perspective (language, analysis and writing) was not limited and framed by either of these discourses. Instead, the study centred on the collectivity of these women lives and their children.

Giving birth changes women's lives. But it is not a singular life changing event. Their everyday work changes alongside the child/ren's stages of development. They continue to develop as adult persons. Having children in school impacts on their work. If they had stayed home, they may want/need to re/enter paid work or school. If they juggle paid and unpaid work, it affects the time they have to volunteer at the school (in class, PTA). Education, social supports, ethno-linguistic-racial identities are all part of the cultural capital (Bourdieu 1977) they bring to their work with the school (child advocate). Other services are also critical to the ecological quality of life of the child/ren, the adults (Bronfenbrenner 1979; Comer 1980) in the school community. The culture/s of the neighbourhood and its services to children and families (health, recreation, library, green play spaces, child care) along with housing and other material conditions all contribute to the development of child/ren and adults in ways that can enhance democratic citizen participation or create barriers to participation in the life of the school, of the community, of the nation. These are but some of the issues we discussed.

To walk the participants through experiences and times in their lives (past) and in their days (present), I developed interview guides (Spradley 1979). Although focused, the questions were open-ended to allow for the unexpected, for the richness of detail, and for individual and group differences. And, so very much did emerge from a series of four interviews with nine mothers. We were adult women communicating our thoughts through oral speech. It was my responsibility as researcher/writer to develop a text that reflected their voices/positions in the writing. From the interviews through to the writing of the text as thesis, the different speech acts presented challenges. How to speak (dialogue), read and write in ways that brings out a holistic/integrative view that recognizes the specificity of mother's work/day without losing the voice of the child about whom she was asked to speak? How could she speak of the child's day/life without losing the adult person she is? How to read the transcripts, write the thesis in ways that bring out the specific individual voices, the different ethno-racial groups and recognize the collectivity of nine participants along the lines of gender and class? Once the tapes were transcribed, the challenges of how to interpret what they said remained: What to focus on, to extract? How and what to write? For what purposes? For whom? Would I tell popular narrative stories of the peoples' (women) relationship to school (Freire 1970). Would I look for connections/ contributions to theories (adult education, parent involvement, women's work, school drop out)? Which theories would inform the individual and social act of writing a thesis.

I chose to develop a theoretical framework on speaking, reading and writing based on the language theories of Bakhtin and Freire, who place dialogue at centre stage in human communication. Bakhtin, as Holquist (1986) wrote, "conceived of language as living dialogue" (xv) and "dialogue as the root condition of human beings" (xi). In addition to valuing the participatory interaction inherent in dialogue, both saw text as a critical and essential point of departure for in-depth analysis of our understandings of the world/s we observe, read and write. In their views, we capture and think through our thoughts in text. The writing, then, allows us to share, reflect and further expand our thinking on a theme/issue. From my interpretation, Freire's language theories alone did not have the strength to address post modern discourses on language and text (multiple subject positions, shifting meanings etc.). The language theories of Bakhtin, I felt, addressed post structural questions of language and text while strongly validating the search for understanding at the occurrence of the speech act. But, I didn't think I could fully appropriate Bakhtin's theories on their own for the political project, I was taking up. Together I thought the theories could do what I needed and wanted to do. They reinforce the shared aspects of valuing dialogue, reading, and writing and of recognizing the importance of social cultural context in interpreting different realities and texts. Also, each contributes to where the other may be weaker; dialogism, the simultaneity of differences, multiple subject positions and interpretations of reality/of text, language in dialogue and in writing to reflect and act for social justice.

I recognize the critique that the classed focus of Freire's work paid insufficient attention to issues of race and gender (Weiler 1999). By the 1990s, written critiques had been fairly extensive. Freire, himself, had repeatedly been asked to acknowledge the gaps. He did so. In turn, he also asked that his work not be taken as prescriptive, rather that it be reinterpreted by others in/for different social contexts and situations. That is part of what I set out to do. I acknowledge the gap. But I do not continue on with a discourse of critique. Instead, I developed a synthesis of Freirian and Bakhtinian theories for the purposes of applying it to the context of this particular grounded research on women's lives and their work with school-aged children. This theoretical chapter is presented at the front end of the thematic chapters. Its intent was to not only inform the reader of my processes of thinking and writing (reflective practitioner) but also to inform the readers of these theories as they are about to engage in a reading of the chapters to follow. By doing so, I ask that they consciously take up the participatory act of reading, bring into the text their experiences to expand the work and issues, thereby being aware that in this way they are actively participating in the creation of a new text. The thesis, therefore, not only provides a synthesis of Freire and Bakthin for adult learning, but it is directly applied to the processes of speaking, reading and writing for/in/after this thesis. It is both a thesis that develops a theoretical framework and a thesis that applies the theory to the practice then and there, here and now.

The research contributes to adult education the life experiences of the population selected. The perspective continuously broadens and narrows the focus; delving into issues and connecting to a whole life; going into a case/a life then back to the group/collective. Some of themes addressed in the analysis chapters are the mother's day, the child's day, drop out, teen pregnancy, discipline in schools, dating, adult learning and work, race as a marker of difference, work with schools, day care, familial relationships, death, religion and others. Issue recommendations (if appropriate) are imbedded in the text or end notes of the chapter. The conclusion begins a new dialogue, moving us to a participatory process of re-reading the chapters with the intent of reflecting on the issues/themes in groups for social action. It provides underlying principles to inform the work and a framework for the development of neighbourhood services that support all children as members of a peer generation in a locality. The focus is on integrated services that are accessible to children from lower income families. It is critical that the frontline adults (mothers, teachers, other care providers) be supported and that the child's day and year be at the centre. The conclusion provides some principles and a framework for community development at the neighbourhood level. The development needs to be worked through on the ground. As the work of Freire (1993) and Comer (1980) illustrated, this is neither easy nor prescriptive. But it needs to be done. If what we have been witnessing and what studies and statistics have published is not wrong/false; then not only is our air, water, and bio-diversity at risk, but in this nation/this province our collective public institutions which should be moving towards greater and greater inclusion are at risk of survival and the status of children in this province, in this nation is also at risk. This is an absolute shame for a generation of adults (us) entrusted with the stewardship of our public institutions.

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Voices Inside: Popular Theater and Incarcerated Women's Lives

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Abstract: Using the shared life stories of incarcerated women as play context, intimate theater of realism served effectively to spotlight and mirror the hidden experiences, issues and suppressed voices of incarcerated women; and to promote education and advocacy for policy change.

Introduction

In the United States, the number of incarcerated women has increased by 500% since 1980, a horrendous statistic noted by researchers (Baird, 2001; Belknap, 1998; Owen,1998; Watterson, 1996) and fiction writers alike (Goldsmith, 2002); and attributed to harsh policy aimed at punition rather than rehabilitation. "Voices Inside," a one act play, served as an adult education vehicle for turning the spotlight on these issues and the experiences of incarcerated women. Using the shared life stories of those involved in a Freirian/humanities-oriented learning program as play context, this study sought to examine the impact of intimate theater of realism in raising community awareness while empowering the women by shattering their silence and invisibility. There were two overlapping components of this study: the pervasive marginalization and oppression of incarcerated women that served as the context of the play; and the play, itself, that highlighted their realities and served as social activism.

Freirian and feminist/womanist theory are the foundation for an ongoing adult education program for female offenders at a county jail. Since "silencing and invisibility" are deeply embedded in societal perceptions, treatment and policy regarding the incarcerated, Freire's theory (1992) has been appropriate for addressing their marginalization and oppression and, through praxis, for defining the human being behind the prison number, releasing her voice. Hill Collins (1992), hooks (1994) and Lorde (1999) concur, reinforcing the efficacy of story telling as a process for assuming responsibility for self-definition; in this case, incorporating play text created by incarcerated women as a process for social activism. For this study, these perspectives were especially fitting since the theatrical presentation had the potential for broadening the base for generating public awareness and turning up the volume on issues of marginalization and oppression: an excellent medium for social activism.

The feminist corrections lens strengthened the framework in that it underscores the race, class and socioeconomic factors that have an impact on incarceration and sentencing rates (Owen, 1998; Rafter, 1982).

Theory

Freire's theory of conscientization (1992), evolving from an educational program for oppressed peasants, provided through reflection and dialog a tool for acquiring voice, thereby shattering the bondage that constrained them; it enabled the oppressed peasants to transform their "object" status to that of "subject," of being in charge of transforming their lives and destinies through social action. This concept undergirds the problem-solving program for incarcerated women as they reflect on, discuss, recognize and address, in their own words, how their lives have been shaped (Baird, 1999, 1997a, 1997b). Using these stories as play context provided the complementary component of Freire's theory: the empowerment of the subject with the social activism intent of the play.

Among the oppressed and marginalized, empowerment is key as are the tools, the means for achieving it. Just as with Freirian theory, for Black Feminist scholars acquiring voice is essential. Hill Collins (1997), hooks (1994) and Lorde (1997) emphasize the need, especially for black women unequal in power, to define their reality and themselves. Quoting hooks, Hill Collins (p. 254) succinctly summarizes the theoretical perspective: "Oppressed people resist by identifying themselves as subjects, by defining their reality, shaping their own identity, naming their history, telling their story." hooks' (1994, p. 452) emphasis on relating firm grounding in self and identity as achieving "wellness," as an act of political resistance, reinforces the intent of the prison program with real-life story telling for personal empowerment and for play context, with its intent as social action.

Feminist criminal justice scholars stress the race, class and socioeconomic factors that influence the incarceration and sentencing rates of women (Belknap, 1998; Owen, 1998; Ratter, 1982; Watterson, 1996). They cite, as examples, that women commit lesser crimes than men yet are the fastest growing sector of the prison population; and that a disproportionate number of African American women are incarcerated more frequently and for longer periods than white women committing the same crime. In the play, these issues were more implicit than explicit; however, in dealing with incarcerated women's realities, especially from an activist perspective, the feminist criminal justice lens is necessary for better understanding factors that oppress and marginalize this segment of our population.

Finally, the basis for using theater as a potential community change agent. During the rebellious 1970s, theater often served as a political, protest-oriented forum. In chronicling the evolution of the theater and its genres, the Kernodles (1971) define the theater of realism as the most appropriate for dealing with socially relevant issues; it is theater that provides "an actual reproduction of life an exact reflection in the mirror. . . [where] unadorned truth was to be shown. . . to show people [and situations] as they are. . . (pg.5). This is most effectively accomplished in the intimate format of the theater of realism. This perspective enhanced the success of "Voices Inside." The theater has one hundred seats and is located in the lower level of a center city mall. It was an ideal site for taking to a diverse community audience the message of the realities of incarcerated women, showcasing "social realism" as the most important form of art (Kernodle, p. 11)," and a vehicle for addressing policy issues that perpetuate the oppression and marginalization.

Methodology

The adult learning model for incarcerated women has been successfully implemented at a county jail since 1994 (Baird, 2001; 1999, 1997a, 1997b). Four times annually, in ten week segments, female inmates volunteer to participate in a Freirian-based process that involves reading (or listening), reflection and discussion of the poetry and/or prose of established female authors of similar race, class and experience who have successfully resolved their personal crises. Currently, the learners request the works of Patrice Gaines, Nikki Giovanni, Iyanla Vanzant and Maya Angelou. During the meeting, each woman identifies the issue that resonates with her personal crisis and, after group discussion, addresses it in writing in a format of her choice. Toward the conclusion of a ten week segment, the women select writings for inclusion in a publication of their design and naming: an exercise in identify, agency and empowerment, in acquiring voice and visibility. Each woman receives her personal copy which often is shared with family and friends on the outside and staff and prison board members on the inside. The model and methodology, with a strong problem-solving component, are sufficiently flexible, allowing for the exploration of a variety of themes, at different levels of academic competence. The methodology complements and reinforces prison counseling programs. Given the cognitive focus, counselors now look for insights in the women's writing as an approach to rehabilitation.

Public awareness of this project prompted the education director of an intimate community theater, committed to addressing controversial social issues, to propose a collaboration ". . . to humanize those who have been dehumanized by circumstances, actions and institutions. . . [to] increase the understanding of the theater, the visual arts and music and its ability to communicate across the lines that separate" (excerpt from a proposal to a potential funder).

The purpose was to create an original text from the women's writing, structured along adult education principles. The women in the learning program were invited to participate in creating a drama on their world and works. Twelve agreed to do so: African American, Anglo-American and Latinas between 18 and 40 years of age. The warden and his staff were supportive by providing historical background on the facility, by conducting a tour of the women's quarters and by providing an attractive conference room for the two hour weekly sessions. A New York-based playwright read women's writing from the current and previous groups as preparation for the meetings which also included three local actresses, a visual artist and a movement/dance expert. The incarcerated participants recorded the stories they wanted the community to hear. The education director engaged them in improvisational exercises to assist the actors in gaining insights and developing materials for performances . . . speech patterns, posturing, walk, tendencies to assume a rocking back and forth sitting position, teasing, games, etc. The visual artist provided paper and colored pencils for expressing, graphically, emotions. . . feelings about self, loved ones, friends, their cells. The women's rap was recorded to be used as background music.

During the rehearsal period, a released inmate committed her community service time to consulting on and critiquing the script. An adult education director of multi cultural programming, an experienced actor and singer, was added to the cast in the role of prison counselor.

The final product was scheduled for four performances during the theater's "Women Speak Festival," with each performance followed by a panel discussion of incarcerated women's issues and relevant policy. The play was videotaped for archival and dissemination purposes.

Findings and Conclusions

"Voices Inside" was presented to the public May 17, 18, 19 and 20, 2000 as the opening of the month-long Women Speak Forum. Opening night, the warden brought staff and several of the incarcerated play contributors, in street dress, to a sold-out house. The remaining nights, also nearly a full house, continued to attract an age, gender, class and racially diverse audience which included judges as well as released inmates. They witnessed a play text developed from a collage of stories incorporating feelings of loneliness and rejection, ravages of drugs, attachment to children, unconditional love of mothers, compassion for their "sisters," the unpredictability of relationships. The women joked about prison food, their personal foibles; they also exhibited coping mechanisms for survival while questioning social injustice. An excerpt from a poem written for the play, however, underscored the basic question for family and community reflection and response:

I am afraid to get to know me,
afraid to be me, I am afraid to be
the woman that I actually am.
Hello, is there anybody there that
can actually hear me?
Somebody who can listen for a moment.

The forty-five minute production was followed by a thirty minute panel discussion, with audience participation. Panelists included the playwright, a criminal justice expert and two adult educators. Following are examples of oral comments:

- I'm surprised to learn that all prison women are not illiterate.
- Why are we fueling the prison industry rather than focusing on taking programs to the prisons to help the women make a positive transition into the community?

Most surprising was a prison guard's reaction that she was not aware of the real life experiences of the inmates.

Written evaluations from the audience regarding what they liked about the program were consistently positive, namely:

- the humanity of it all; it seemed to remind us of our common human needs, the enormity of problems that ensue when the needs are not met.
- play did a good job to promote more attention to education in prison.
- it was very helpful to hear from those that had experienced jail.
- how wounding enforced silence is and how liberating a voice.
- it was about real life!
- uncompromising subject matter honestly presented.

- incredibly important topic hidden from public view.
- social ramifications far outweigh any artistic criticisms.
- just do it again, expand it, develop it.

The successful play was an excellent example of taking adult education to the community, so successful that the social action arm of the local Unitarian Church received overwhelming approval from its members to focus on incarcerated women's issues, beginning with a "revival" of "Voices Inside."

Implications

Involving inmates in the adult education process of the play development provided them with ownership that reinforced the identity, esteem, agency and empowerment components of their prison learning program. The obvious implication is that there are unique and viable methods for accomplishing this while addressing oppressive situations. Given the lack of community knowledge in this area, evidenced in the post-performance audience interaction and the evaluations, theater is this case was an effective medium for promoting activism for educating for change, for exploring alternative forms of community education and service rather than fueling the prison industry.

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Beyond Personal Agency: Contributions to Public Effectiveness Through Subsistence-Oriented Motherwork

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Abstract: In the midst of a societal climate that focuses increasingly on the market economy, this study looks at motherwork as an important site of learning. Further, it advocates for public policies that legitimize the value of this work, arguing that motherwork contributes to the lives of individuals, families and society.

There is no doubt that motherwork impacts the well-being of children. For generations, sociologists, psychologists and educators have made a link between the primary care of children, and their physical, spiritual and social well-being. No where is this link made more clearly than in the huge amount of blame that is attributed to women who mother, when their children are neglected or abused, when they do poorly in school, get into trouble with the law, or behave in socially unacceptable ways (Caplan, 1989, Choderow & Contratto, 1992). In such analyses, the impacts of society that include gendered and racialized poverty, marginalization and oppression are rarely considered as factors in the children's development.

At the same time, women who learn to do this life-affirming, subsistence-oriented work adequately, or even well, rarely receive enough affirmation or acknowledgement of how they contribute to the well-being of their families or society (Hart, 1992). This is evidenced by the huge amount of guilt that women experience while mothering (Chodorow & Contratto, 1992, Caplan, 1989). The systemic and societal lack of affirmation or recognition of women's contributions to society through motherwork contributes further to making the benefits of motherwork invisible so that it can be taken for granted both in the private and public spheres.

Although there is indication at every level of society that motherwork is undervalued (Waring, 1988), there is evidence in today's economic climate that many mid-income males of the 'boomer' population are preparing for early retirement, as a result of having worked hard and investing well. Meanwhile, their female counterparts will be seen working as long as is possible or acceptable (Foot & Stoffman, 1997). This is because during those 'income earning years', many women were the primary caregivers to children. Thus many of them were working without pay (within the home) or managed to receive part time pay for part time work or remained 'underemployed', due to the demands of motherwork (Kitchen, 1997). Now, in their retirement years, the generous contribution of having invested in their children's future through motherwork punishes them yet again, and ensures that they will have fewer opportunities to retire with the same economic freedom as their male counterparts.

Motherwork Learning

Feminist learning theory looks specifically at the lived experience of women as a site of learning and knowledge creation. The fact that women have less of a history in formalized learning (within the academy) does not mean that women (and therefore mothers) have not been learning, knowing and working in ways that contested societal norms and structures, in their everyday lives (Neumann & Peterson, 1997, Luttrel, 1997). What women have done, for generations, is find alternative ways of learning and knowing, thus constructing and sharing knowledge, which centres around their own experiences.

Feminist educators and theorists are taking a new look at the everyday lived experience of women. Tisdell (1995) and Maher (1987) indicate that current theories of feminist pedagogy fall largely into two categories. The gender model, which has benefited from work such as Belenky et al. (1986) deals with women's socialization as nurturers. The liberatory model analyzes and challenges society's systems of oppression and builds on the work of Freire and Habermas. This includes work such as Miles (1996) and Luttrell (1997). Both theories have validity, says Tisdell (1995), but if we examine the experience and learning of individuals, without analyzing the social systems of oppression that have contributed to people's experience, then we are not contributing to any substantive change in society.

Therefore, if feminist pedagogy and feminisms seek to transform society, a synthesis or integration of these two models is necessary, as current the gender models ignore issues of power, while the liberation models tend to ignore the personal domain. Therefore, says Maher (1987), "a pedagogy for both personal agency and public effectiveness needs both strands of thought" (p. 98). This means that the subjective experience of learning and transformation of women must still be heard, studied and analyzed, but must include an examination of the societal structures, forces and powers that have contributed to subordination based on gender, race and class. Further, they must study, recognize and make visible to the substantive value of this work that women do, too often silently, but which benefits individuals, families and society (Hart, 1992, Barg, 2001).

Research Design

This paper explores women's lived experience and the learning within motherwork. Women were invited to tell stories that centred around personal growth and transformation while mothering. In exploring the processes and the products of learning, the women's experiences are examined in the context of their positions within society, taking into consideration issues of gender, race and class, and focusing on ways in which their work contributed to public effectiveness and to increased social well-being in homes, workplaces and society (Maher, 1987).

Art-informed Representation

In order to present the research findings in ways that honour the wholeness of women's stories, capture their intensity, and appeal to the emotions of readers, I represent findings in artful ways that include poetic narrative (Barg, 2001) and short story. Here are a few short excerpts, written in poetic and short story form.

Joanne's story

Joanne, a 46-year-old woman of Chinese heritage, came to Canada with her husband and family, looking for a better life for their children. Her husband was unable to find work in his own field. When she realized that the "dream life" they had planned for themselves in Canada was evaporating, and that her daughter needed more attention in order to thrive in school, Joanne decided that she would make some substantive changes. Thus Joanne is a now a 'virtual single mother' (Sheppard, 1998) who struggles with the daily realities of mothering children through a school system that is constructed in a language and culture foreign to her.

Since I was doing well
(I had cemented my own job here)
  and my husband was not doing well,
  I thought,
  maybe he'd get a better job at home.

So, after we closed the business,
  my husband stayed in Hong Kong.
  I think it is better that way.

Since then
  he had gained his faith back,
  and he is satisfied with what he's doing.

But my daughter
  was still having problems
  at school.

So now I try to stay working with her.
  I listen to what her problems are.
  I talk to her
  I try to stay with her all the time.

And I see a big improvement!

Carla's story

Carla, a 46-year-old Lebanese Canadian woman, struggles daily, to keep her son Matt healthy and alive. Her mothering requires her to spend much time at Sick Kids' Hospital, in Toronto. Years, ago, Carla says, she was a quiet woman who could be subjected to abuse by authority figures. Because she learned to advocate on behalf of her son, she has learned to speak out and fight for justice. Here, Carla describes an interaction between a white male physician and a nurse (a recent immigrant and woman of colour). The doctor accused the nurse of not following through on an order, which Carla says was never given.

In her struggles, Carla has learned to confront authority figures. Once she had a knock down, drag out battle in a hospital, when a male doctor berated a nurse in front of Carla. "You were totally unfair," said Carla, relying on inner resources she didn't know she had. "You were wrong to treat her like that for something she didn't do."

At first the doctor challenged her back. He wasn't used to being challenged by women, especially mothers of his patients. But later, he came back and apologized...

Rita's story

Rita is a 43-year-old immigrant mother and woman of colour, with 7 children. After 25 years in an abusive marriage, her husband left and returned to Trinidad. It was at that point that Rita and two of her teenage sons experienced the painful realities of the Canadian legal system. Rita shares the story of her struggle, because she is determined that no women should have to face legal struggles as she did, particularly when they involve the incarceration of innocent children. Having learned this the hard way, she speaks out and advises other women to:

"Take notes.
Try to call for a mistrial!
Go for Freedom of Information:
try to get records of
what was said."

And I'd say,
"Fight for him,
fight tooth and nail

fight the system, tooth and nail...
Do everything you can!
Don't sit back and take it!

Because they'll walk all over you."

Layers of Public Effectiveness

The women's stories of contestation, transformation and learning make visible the fact that motherwork and motherwork learning contributes to society in multi-layered ways. This study includes an exploration of the significance and possibilities of the learning, that is grounded in the daily lived experience of motherwork, when extended beyond the family unit, and into the workplace and the world at large.

The Daily Work of Mothering

As noted earlier, many links have been made within the social sciences, between motherwork and the well-being of children. However, the societal notion that motherwork is the primary responsibility of mothers contributes to creating a double burden of work for many women, as they struggle to provide primary care for children and to support their families financially. Further it limits their choices, both in their careers and in their mothering. This is because the current societal model of parenting places all the responsibility for this work on individual families (often single women) (Eichler, 1997) where it is determined to be 'natural,' and of no economic value (Waring, 1988).

Instead of blaming women for the problems their children encounter and for the problems of society, as is often experienced and represented by the media (Kaplan, 1992), further analyses are needed that study the long-term decreased costs in health care and societal evils, as well as the overwhelming benefits to society, when motherwork is done well. As Eichler (1997) suggests, such analyses could contribute to the development of public policies that support the notion that parenting work is a social responsibility that benefits all of society. Chancer (1998) supports such a view as she develops a contemporary model on the much-debated concept of 'guaranteed annual income'. This concept is grounded in a feminine principle, in that it provides a framework that supports all people, just because they are there and deserve to be respected, and not because of what they contribute through paid employment.

Beyond the Self

As was demonstrated by several participants in this study, women often contribute to the social well-being of children other than their own. This contradicts the notion that the work of providing care for their children takes place in the private sphere. When women advocate on behalf of their children by confronting physicians, teachers and others who are in positions of power, these actions contribute to effectiveness that goes well beyond the self or the private sphere, and into the public domain.

Beyond that, women have a history of providing care for children other than their own, in their roles as sisters, aunts, babysitters, friends and grandmothers. All of these contribute to the well-being of society but continue to be unrecognized as having social and economic value.

Implications for Society

Motherwork, at its best, is subsistence-oriented work that contributes to the well-being of individuals, families and society because it is grounded in life-centred, life-affirming principles. In keeping with the perspectives developed by Miles (1996) and Hart (1992), if the principles and practices of this work were generalized to the greater society, this could contribute to the sustenance of the earth and to more life-affirming practices for all.

Currently many social economists, workplace management theorists, environmentalists and adult educators agree that if there is to be hope for the future, then some kind of societal transformation must also take place. While there are individuals within all these disciplines that promote life-centred change, all of them have historically overlooked motherwork as a site where life-affirming learning and work that contributes enormously to society's well-being takes place.

In the midst of the current societal climate that focuses increasingly on the market economy at the expense of individuals and those marginalized, this study looks at the place of adult educators among those who have overlooked motherwork as site of learning and knowledge creation. It is time for adult educators to take a renewed look at the work that women do within the homeplace, particularly motherwork, and advocate for public policies that legitimize the value of this work and recognize how this work contributes (albeit too often invisibly) to the lives of individuals, families and all of society.

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Participatory Research, Education and Rural Farmers: A Case Study from Bangladesh

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Abstract: This paper will examine the issues of participatory research, education and agriculture development in the context of rural environment and sustainable development in Bangladesh.

Introduction

Participatory research is politically committed towards structural social change in order to dismantle the dominion of the minority group who control the wealth of the society. It is an active process in which disadvantaged groups are empowered through collective education and partnership for socio-economic and political development [Hall, 1996; Rahman, 1994; Selener, 1997].

I will begin this paper with a brief review of participatory research and the notion of a regenerative agriculture program. For the convenience of my discussion, my analysis will be based on this program which was implemented by Gono Unnayan Prochesta [GUP-People's Development Efforts], a local Non-Governmental Organization in Bangladesh. Unlike many other programs, it was developed within the context of the rural environment and sensitivity to the socio-cultural conditions in Rajoir upazila [sub-district] of the Madaripur district which lies 250 kms southwest of Dhaka, the capital city. Finally, I will draw a conclusion from my discussion on regenerative agriculture and the empowerment of small farmers. I have conducted my field research between December 1997 to February 1998 in order to understand the process of participatory research and conditions of the rural farmers in the project area of GUP.

Participatory Research and Social Change

The participatory research approach allows marginalized people to generate their own knowledge from their daily experiences in order to liberate them from social oppression. It sensitizes marginalized people to change their social conditions through a collective effort in their society [Rahman, 1994; Selener, 1997; Tandon, 1988]. In the view of Hall [1996];

> Participatory research is a social action process that is biased in favor of dominated, exploited, poor, or otherwise left-out people for social change and empowerment. It sees no contradiction between goals of collective empowerment and the deepening of social knowledge. The concern with power and democracy and their interactions are central to participatory research [p. 187].

The main thrust of participatory research is to increase the level of understanding and capacity of the people through cooperative learning so that they can change their situation through collective action within their own socio-cultural environment. This form of research systematically tries to understand the issues from the perspective of target participants. Both the researcher and the people are involved in the process of sharing and learning with the commitment to social change. This process helps both groups at an equal level to build knowledge and act collectively to improve the conditions [Hall, 1979; Tandon, 1988].

Gono Unnayan Prochesta: Regenerative Agriculture and Rural Farmers

Gono Unnayan Prochesta [GUP], a local NGO started its agriculture programs in the Southwestern part of Bangladesh in 1974 with the objective to increase agricultural production in order to reduce malnutrition and poverty in the Rajoir upazila of Madaripur District. This was done through the distribution of material inputs [seeds and seedlings] and organized training for the farmers on the production of new crops and technology. Although GUP initially encouraged the farmers to cultivate high yielding varieties [HYV] of crops and to use chemical fertilizers to grow more, this was discontinued after their realization of the adverse consequences to the farming sector. Having realized the adverse and severe effects of modern agriculture, GUP initiated a regenerative agriculture program for small and landless farmers in the late 1980s in its project area. Regenerative agriculture is considered to be ecologically appropriate, economically viable and relevant to the rural farmers. Regenerative agriculture embraces natural practices and seeks friendly coexistence with the environment and all creatures. By providing education on regenerative agriculture, GUP gives emphasis to an alternative agricultural development process in which local resources can be used effectively by the small and landless farmers. Such initiatives do not encourage the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Rather, farmers are encouraged to use organic and botanical pesticides on their farmland [Ahmed, 1995; Barua, 1999]. The regenerative agriculture program involves both the female and male farmers of the Rajoir area of Madaripur district of Bangladesh. Since the inception of this program until 1990 alone, 264,000 farmers were trained by GUP [Akther et al 1991]. The farmers' cooperative is mobilized in the villages where they are able to share their own knowledge and experiences on a regular basis without the dominion of experts.

Participatory Research, Education and Rural Farmers

This dialogical process of education is based upon the indigenous knowledge of the farmers rather than the modern dominant agriculture paradigm [Freire, 1973]. In the process, dialogical education and reflection sessions were introduced into the agricultural program of GUP as a means to critically analyze the project's interventions in order to better understand the daily realities of the farmers and to value and sustain their knowledge in the villages. The program planers were careful not to impose their own knowledge in the knowledge building process. The extension workers/organizers of GUP work with the farmers on an equal level in developing a regenerative agriculture program within the villages. The initiatives of the rural farmers were always given a priority. Dialogue was the key tool used to identify the problems and to generate relevant knowledge in order to discover an alternative to external dependency. This reflection was mainly centered on the process of action-reflection-analysis through a group learning session every seven days. This session was organized around open dialogue with circular questioning and role play techniques on the issues of farmers participation, inter-crop pattern, use of organic fertilizers, pesticides and the use of local resources. The session inevitably encouraged farmers to use the local cultural media such as story telling and proverbs which are orally available in the villages. During these weekly learning session, all the *samity* [cooperative] enlisted farmers and extension workers sat together to find collective solutions for the development of agricultural program in the context of the village culture and society. Most importantly, this weekly learning session was adopted as a continuous process of learning and relearning so as to realize the implementation of extension education in the villages. Besides regular learning and reflection sessions, the project also encouraged extension workers/organizers to maintain a diary in order to observe the change and record the problems within their operation areas. Over the years, GUP was able to create quite a unique environment of collective learning with the farmers. This process created significant change among the rural farmers in the villages of Rajoir in Bangladesh. It not only changed the economic conditions of the farmers but it also initiated a new dimension in the development of partnership between men and women in the villages [Barua, 1999]. Having used action-reflection sessions as a process for critical learning in the regenerative agriculture program, GUP was able to encourage farmers to organize their own farming in the context of their Bangladeshi village culture. In the following section, I will critically analyze the issue of an agricultural program based on the reflection of two small farmers of Rajoir project area of GUP.

Agricultural Modernization, Dependency and Destruction of Nature

Non-formal education for agricultural modernization was initiated in the 1960s to educate and train rural farmers so they could attain high economic growth and increased agricultural production as a result of the success of the 'green revolution' in the North [Barua, 1999]. This growth-oriented agricultural development program encouraged the rural farmers to increase rice production through the use of mono crop. This strong trend in favor of mono crop [such as the high yielding variety of rice] production eventually led to its occupation of up to four-fifths of the cultivated land in Bangladesh. However, this mono crop bias not only failed to provide benefit to the small farmers, but also acted as an obstacle to the attainment of total socio-economic development of the country [Ahmed, 1988], This growth oriented model, subsequently encouraged farmers to introduce costly chemical fertilizers and pesticides on to the farmland for the production of their crops. Modern agriculture has essentially replaced the local crop varieties. Due to the promotion of mono crop, Bangladesh has lost about 7,000 diverse indigenous varieties of rice [ENCNGO/ADAB, 1992]. These diverse varieties of rice were developed by the farmers for centuries in the context of the deltic environment of Bangladesh. Despite this fact, education programs for agricultural modernization virtually marginalized the rural small farmers and helped the urban-based traders and business people to make a profit in Bangladesh. Jarimon [1998], a rural woman farmer, describes that;

> Five years ago, I could not feed even one meal a day to my children. My husband used to cultivate a high yielding variety of paddy, but he had to discontinue because it was too costly to produce and it was difficult to survive. In the past, we also used chemical fertilizers and pesticides for the production of the paddy but we could not afford it because of the high price of fertilizers [Quoted in Barua, 1999:85].

The use of chemical fertilizers has increased from 2 million metric tons in 1990/91 to 3.02 million metric tons in 1995/96 in an effort to boost agricultural production. The enormous use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides has also reduced the soil fertility. "Fertilizer use at the farmers level is dominated by urea [70%] followed by TSP and SSP [20%] and MOP [10%] causing damage to the soil structure and thereby reducing per acre production of various crops" [FFYP-5, 1997-2002:xiii-11]. The consumption of urea has increased tremendously from 559 thousand metric tones in 1980/91 to 1.7 million metric tones in 1994/95 [Mahamood, 1995]. The utilization of chemical fertilizers has increased 7.5 times in the last twenty years. At the same time, the price of chemical fertilizers has increased 4 times in the last twenty years.

Concurrently, the cost of pesticides has also increased 10 times in this same period [ADHUNA, 1997]. Despite the massive increase in the use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides, the production of boro has actually declined 22.2 times in last 10 years [ADHUNA, 1997]. These statistics indicates that the production of boro declined at the rate of 3 percent per year. Furthermore, it was observed that the production of HYV rice per acre was reduced by 10 percent from 1971 level, despite a 300 percent increase of chemical fertilizer and pesticide use in per acre of land [ENCNGO/ADAB, 1992]. Sona Mia, a landless farmer confirms that;

> If one uses chemical fertilizers and pesticides for agriculture, he would have to distribute this every 16 days. In such a situation, one would only be occupied with the purchase and distribution of fertilizers and pesticides. If this continued, his life would be ruined" [Quoted in Barua, 1999:85].

Such modernization has not only marginalized the rural farmers and created dependency on the external inputs of the so-called 'experts', but it is also disrespectful to the land and nature.

Regenerative Agriculture and the Empowerment of Farmers

The relationships among the farmers are collective rather than individualistic. They have their hopes and very realistic dreams within their local context. It is not a question of competition among the farmers; rather, it is a matter of collective living for their survival in life. Each farmer does not need to use a large area of land, but instead can use a small section of land to cultivate diverse crops all year round. The land cropping intensity is maximized with the available land space of the farmers in the villages. Their investment is less and they gain more economic benefit within their local environment. In such an environment, a small farmer can avail him/herself on this opportunity along with his / her family members for economic development [Barua, 1999]. Farmers could utilize their experience within their social context and according to their own needs and aspirations. Attention was given to the use of the local social context rather than creating meaningless infrastructures. Farmers can produce varieties of crops in each of the six different seasons of Bangladesh. These diverse varieties of crops could eventually enrich the soil's fertility as well as the nutritional requirements of the rural people. Moreover, the farmers did not have to spend their time, money and energy distributing chemical fertilizers and pesticides on the farmland and crops. They are not dependent on outside forces. The farmers are actively engaged in developing their own conditions [Barua, 1999]. They found their means and ways to survive with ease within their unique social context, Jarimon [1998], a rural farmer, describes that;

> ....I received training on agriculture gardening, organic farming and process of soil preparation from the GUP. Since I have been involved in agriculture production my husband goes to *bazaar* [daily market] and *hat* [weekly market] to sell our vegetables. ... This season I spent Taka [C$ 20] for seeds only and organic fertilizers which are produced from the waste of vegetables and cow dung. I earned Taka 6000 [C$200] this winter and had an average annual income of Taka 30,000 [C$ 1,000]. Moreover, I do not need to buy anything from the market except fish and meat. ... I produce all year round [Quoted in Barua 1999:86]

Farmers maintain a mutual social relationship for their own survival in the village. Male landless farmers are generally encouraged to work on the farm with women without gender bias as they both intend to improve their socio-economic conditions. They work collectively in regenerative agriculture to ensure better economic returns for their family. For them, it is not a question of 'men or women', but rather a matter of communal living and harmony. Sona Mia, a male farmer reflects that; "My wife helps me in making compost and irrigating the garden" (Quoted in Barua, 1999:85]. The cooperation between women and men in the disadvantaged group is essential for their families. In the words of Barua [1999] "the relationship between the husband and wife among landless families in the Rajoir area is considered to be complimentary while at the same time, they are improving their economic conditions through regenerative agriculture" [p. 97]

Conclusion

In this paper, I have critically analyzed the agricultural program of GUP by examining the views and statements of two small farmers of Rajoir, male and female. I observed that the rural farmers could not afford to bear the higher costs associated with irrigation, chemical fertilizers and pesticides necessary for mono crop. Rather the freedom and autonomy of the farmer have become enslaved by global corporations in the name of high economic growth. On the other hand, it was observed that the initiative of the regenerative agriculture program through a participatory research has taken a new space in order to create a collective learning environment for the development of small farmers in Bangladesh. I believe that research can only be effective if participation of both the rural people and extension workers/educators is ensured within the program's implementation without any imposition. It ought to be linked in all steps of the program on continuous basis for social change. For this, the system of decentralized program planning and operation is a must.

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La valorisation et la reconnaissance des apprentissages professionnels informels du point de vue de l'autoformation.

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Comment les adultes apprennent-ils au travail en dehors des formations formelles structurées? Si la présence de tels apprentissages informels en milieu de travail semble identifiable, leur reconnaissances et leur valorisation posent plusieurs problèmes. Ce point de vue a permis de discerner différentes questions tels que les différents modes d'apprentissage existants dans le monde du travail, les types de situation professionnelle d'où émergent ces apprentissages et les types de reconnaissance (et de non-reconnaissance) envisageables pour ces apprentissages informels. Ceci implique qu'il existerait plusieurs façons d'apprendre dans le monde professionnel, et que pour valoriser des apprentissages professionnels il faut un individu à la fois apprenant et acteur ainsi que l'existence de trois niveaux qui interagissent; le niveau individuel, le niveau collectif et le niveau environnemental. L'expérimentation en cours consiste en une première approche qualitative qui a permis d'identifier des premières constantes. Ainsi plusieurs salariés ont contribué à des formations action qui visaient à l'identification de leurs activités, la reconnaissance de leurs capacités et la valorisation de leurs aptitudes. Cette action terrain a permis à la fois de recueillir des données pour l'élaboration d'une démarche sur l'identification des différentes dimensions de l'activité professionnelle mais aussi sur la modélisation d'une ingénierie de valorisation des apprentissages professionnels. Les publics concernés sont des animateurs d'équipe de production oeuvrant dans une industrie de main d'œuvre. Dans une première partie de ce texte seront abordés les liens entre l'apprentissage informel et l'autoformation puis dans une deuxième les grands traits de l'expérimentation en cours seront présentés.

L'apprentissage professionnel hors formation

Dès que l'on sort de l'école, ce n'est plus de l'acquisition de savoirs académiques qu'il s'agit, mais d'apprentissage dans un environnement de travail. L'apprentissasge n'est plus analytique, programmable, découpé en séquence, comme à l'école. Il est désormais plus flou, interpénétré, mélangé et parfois incertain (comme la vie). Ces apprentissages professionnels « sur le tas » vont désormais être de première importance quantitativement et qualitativement.

Les situations professionnelles font l'objet d'un certain nombre d'acquisitions de savoirs par les salariés des entreprises, que ce soit en situation de formation (la formation professionnelle), et/ou en situation plus informelle, moins formalisée (apprentissage sur le tas, réunion d'information, etc.). Le salarié peut apprendre différents savoirs : théoriques parfois, pratiques souvent, et bien d'autres encore, (savoir être, savoir reconnaître, etc.). Néanmoins, l'observation de la formation en entreprise démontre à la fois la force du « dressage » comportemental (à ne jamais sous-estimer) et à la fois la faiblesse de la transmission de savoirs. C'est une chose de faire-faire (sans avoir besoin de comprendre), c'est autre chose de permettre l'accession au savoir et à la connaissance qui accompagne l'autonomie et la prise d'initiative. Ainsi il nous semble qu'il n'y a pas une, mais plusieurs façons d'apprendre. La reconnaissance d'une telle diversité et l'intérêt porté à l'apprenant et à son apprentissage (plus qu'au dispositif de formation et aux savoirs qu'ils contiennent) nous pousse à porter notre intérêt sur l'autoformation.

Apprentissage informel et autoformation dans le monde du travail et de l'adulte

Ces premiers éléments précisés, qu'en est-il de l'autoformation ? Le terme autoformation est employé de diverses façons et désigne des pratiques et théories très différentes (Long, 1997). Si, pour certains, l'autoformation est une méthode pédagogique qui concerne l'enseignement individualisé, pour d'autres le terme est associé à « autodidaxie » qui se passe de toutes appartenance à un quelconque enseignement institutionnalisé. Dans ce dernier cas il ne s'agirait plus d'un dispositif. Ces approches différentes se retrouvent dans la traduction du mot (Carré, 2000). Ainsi autoformation devient « open learning » (apprentissage ouvert) pour regrouper tout ce qui n'est pas apprentissage de type transmissif présentiel. Il se traduit également par « self directed learning » (apprentissage autodirigé) pour regrouper les situations où l'élève est considéré comme apprenant.

Dans ce contexte deux types d'attitudescohabitent. Soit le mot est contourné, et c'est l'emploi des mots autobiographie, autodidaxie, de formation expérientielle, de formation ouverte et à distance, de centre de ressources, d'enseignement sur mesure, de système flexible, d'apprentissage médiatisé, d'organisation apprenante, de réseau d'échange de savoir...Soit, pour préciser la signification accordée au mot autoformation, il est rajouté un adjectif, l'autoformation devient assistée, collective, tutorée, aidée, accompagnée, mais aussi intégrale, cognitive, existentielle, sociale et, bien sûr, éducative. Comme on le constate, on trouve beaucoup de chose autour de ce terme. Pour Philippe Carré (1997) l'autoformation est *« un pré-concept heuristique et fédérateur »* qui a engendré *« une galaxie d'éléments disparates mais unis par leur gravitation commune autour du centre paradigmatique de l'apprendre par soi même ».* En insistant sur la notion de projet, d'acte d'engagement et de besoin d'auto-développement, ce type d'apprentissage en autoformation met bien la personne au centre de l'apprentissage. Que l'autoformation soit comprise comme une façon d'apprendre ou un type de dispositif, ce qui est souligné ici, c'est la reconnaissance, dans les deux acceptations, de la place centrale de l'individu dans les apprentissages.

Schématiquement trois critères simples peuvent nous permettre de cerner l'environnement de l'autoformation au travail:
- Les modes de gestion de l'espace et du temps de la formation : avec l'autoformation l'espace-temps est en quelque sorte libéré, il est possible d'apprendre ailleurs que dans une salle de classe. Il est également possible d'apprendre à d'autres moments que pendant « la leçon ». La dimension « espace-temps » dans l'apprentissage professionnel informel est ainsi pleinement légitimée par l'autoformation.

- les modes de contractualisation des contenus (à la carte, ou programme officiel) et la nature de la guidance (du dressage à l'autonomie compléte) sont également spécifiques pour l'autoformation: C'est ici l'acceptation de la personne comme apprenante et non plus seulement comme élève dont il s'agit. L'apprenant va donc être amené à prendre conscience de lui-même pour être acteur à part entière avec l'autoformation. L'importance de cette prise de recul, de la décentration vis à vis de ses pratiques professionnelles pour favoriser l'apprentissage (au moins dans le contexte socio - économique contemporain) est un des points qui permet de limiter les routines si inhibitrices d'adaptation et d'apprentissage dans le monde professionnel.

- le mode d'insertion sociale ; c'est en quelque sorte la finalité de la formation. Pour cette raison, cette dernière caractéristique des modes de formation est à rapprocher de la conscientisation de l'apprenant. Cependant la rupture de lieu, de temps et d'action caractéristique de l'autoformation peut aussi se traduire par une « reproduction » (P.Bourdieu) des inégalités de chacun devant l'apprentissage. L'autoformation peut servir d'outil fort utile pour renvoyer chacun à lui même. Dans ces conditions, les plus aptes à apprendre sont renforcés dans leur réussite et les plus éloignés de l'apprentissage sont confirmés dans leur échec. D'où la nécessité, dans ce contexte, de souligner la direction de l'apprentissage, d'accompagnement des apprenants dans leur parcours.

Ainsi il apparaît que les outils classiques d'éducation, de formation et de pédagogie sont d'une utilisation relativement malaisée pour rendre compte de toute la diversité que peut prendre l'apprentissage informel. L'éducation tend à réserver une part d'initiative limitée à l'élève, situation dont ne peut se contenter l'adulte au travail, dans bien des cas. La formation, entre le dispositif législatif et la demande des salariés, se fraye difficilement une posture pédagogique qui rende compte de la souplesse que peut prendre un apprentissage informel, notamment en s'affranchissant des contraintes de lieu et de temps. Même si la pédagogie a depuis fort longtemps pu prouver toutes ces possibilités pour encadrer l'acte d'apprendre, elle reste attachée à un modèle qui inclut enseignant, savoir et élève ou apprenant dans le meilleur des cas. Or l'apprentissage informel s'affranchit souvent d'enseignant, parfois de savoirs formalisés ou formalisables et toujours d'une posture d'élève. Pour autant l'apprenant a besoin d'une « guidance » et/ou d'un accompagnement que permet et favorise l'autoformation. Voyons maintenant, ce cadre posé, comment l'expérimentation en cours peut valider ou invalider cette approche de l'autoformation nce dans l'apprentissage professionnel informel.

Un terrain d'expérimentation

Le terrain est un centre de tri qui assure en plus d'une mission de traitement des déchets, une mission d'opérateur d'insertion professionnelle. C'est dans ce contexte que l'interrogation sur l'opportunité d'une recherche qui permettrait à ces salariés d'identifier et d'optimiser les compétences mises en œuvre, a émergé. Ceci afin d'assurer, à court et moyen terme, la valorisation de ces apprentissages professionnels et accélérer l'insertion professionnelle, y compris chez d'autres employeurs. Dans ce contexte, deux enjeux se dégagent qui s'intègrent dans les projets suivants: la valorisation des apprentissages professionnels et l'amélioration de la production.

Il s'agit donc d'identifier ce que les salariés apprennent dans le cadre de leur travail en dehors des situations de formation identifiées et identifiables, et notamment les apprentissages qui les rendent productifs et qui favorisent leur insertion professionnelle. Les besoins auxquels cette action vise à répondre s'articulent donc autour de l'identification des modes d'apprentissage à l'œuvre et notamment ceux assimilables à de l'autoformation tel que décrit précédemment. L'enjeu est important ; c'est une action doublement gagnante pour peu que tout le monde veuille le développement des organisations par le développement des individus. *Pour les personnels :*

S'adapter à leur nouvel environnement de travail et poursuivre les apprentissages dans des conditions acceptables et acceptées afin d'accroître leur insertion professionnelle et sociale (employabilité). *Pour le centre de tri :* Apporter un « plus » social et professionnel à chaque bénéficiaire et se différencier ainsi des structures « classiques », mais également assurer une production de qualité avec des opérateurs « compétents » et opérationnels.

Les objectifs qui ont été définis visent à permettre à chaque salarié d'évaluer ses principales aptitudes et capacités mises en œuvre dans les situations professionnelles, d'estimer ses possibilités d'adaptation, d'identifier et de formuler ses compétences développées à partir de l'analyse et du recensement des activités exercées, de restituer et de formaliser ses compétences recensées, d'identifier les besoins de formation complémentaires à envisager éventuellement. Ainsi chaque salarié est apprenant dans la construction de son parcours en lui permettant de construire son apprentissage à l'aide d'un outil numérique qui est en cours d'élaboration. Ce dernier a été initialement pré-conçu comme un porto folio permettant d'assurer la « traçabilité » des acquis au travail. En cours d'expérimentation ce portfolio a évolué dans trois dimensions ; l'interactivité entre la personne et son environnement de travail, l'utilisation de métaphores pour permettre et favoriser une posture « jeux de rôles » qui se révèle prometteuse et l'enrichissement permanent de l'outil qui rend son utilisation ouverte.

En guise de conclusion provisoire et à ce stade de l'expérimentation, cinq points clés ont été identifié.
1er point clé : mettre en situation. Loin de la situation scolaire, académique, en salle, les apprenants sont en situation réelle. La dimension informelle des apprentissages professionnels est ainsi respectée.
2ème point clé : l'apprentissage s'est articulé autour de 2 axes : la proposition de thème autour des éléments clés du poste de travail préalablement identifié comme la qualité, la sécurité, etc. et la construction de ses propres outils par l'apprenant. La dimension « apprenante » a été ainsi prise en compte.
3ème point clé : Différentes phases semblent ponctuer le parcours d'apprentissage qui valide la présence et l'interaction des niveaux individuels, du groupe et de l'environnement.
4 ème point clé ; quatre objectifs de résultat semblent atteignables à ce stade,

1 soit améliorer la professionalité des opérateurs et la qualité de la production,
2 formaliser les apprentissages informels,
3 valoriser les participants,
4 rendre visible des résultats opérationnels et de production.

5ème point clé ; cinq partenaires ont été identifiés pour la bonne réalisation de l'opération

1 une fonction formation par l'intermédiaire d'un centre de ressource,
2 les participants acteurs et auteurs,
3 la direction,
4 les responsables de production,
5 l'université et la recherche.

En définitive il ne s'agit de rien de moins que de concrétiser une approche de l'organisation apprenante et du « *Knowledge management* » dans un environnement de production, avec des personnels de premiers niveaux de qualification qui concilient impératif de qualité de production et valorisation des apprentissages des personnels.

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Why Distance Education?
Mimetic Forces in Institutions of Adult Education

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Abstract: Distance education is increasing in adult education without adequate evaluative analysis. Concepts from institutional theory about innovations explain why institutions increasingly offer courses through distance education, without evidence of learners' prospects to complete these courses.

There has been phenomenal growth in distance delivery of formal education since satellite and Internet communications became accessible to academic institutions. Roblyer (1999, p. 157) reports that distance learning is now 'mainstream' as an instructional delivery system in adult education, and two British colleagues have claimed that "the lecture is under threat. It is being eroded by new technology" (Smith and Whitely, 1999). We have witnessed this tremendous growth in the instructional use of communications technology to widely offer learning opportunities, even though evidence about the comparative success of distance learners is not encouraging. While distance education appears to make learning available to our most marginalized learners, we may be offering our least successful learning modalities to our least able students. Why are we adopting new instructional methods without adequate concern about student success?

Given Canadian geography, distance delivery of college level courses has long been characteristic of our educational history. Without questioning the need for distance learning in adult education, I do question whether the widespread adoption of distance education by every institution in the country is effective and rational. There are two aspects of effectiveness that are relevant for this study. In the first instance, I ask whether distance education delivery has any effect on rates of course completions. In the second instance, I ask whether the institutions have the information required to assess the effectiveness of newly adopted methods.

Distance Education and Student Success

Studies consistently report that dropout rates are higher and course completion rates are lower for distance education courses than for their face-to-face course equivalents (Carr, 2000; Easterday, 1997; Roblyer, 1999). Although Easterday reports that students who actually start working on their distance learning courses "did not suffer as a result of the instructor being at a greater distance than normal", he does recognize "high drop-out rates associated with distance learners" and cites studies showing overall distance course completion rates averaging 63.4 percent (1997, Electronic version).

Community colleges in B.C. are using distance education for the delivery of credit courses in many academic disciplines. Both of the community colleges providing the data[1] reported in this paper have found that higher proportions of students complete their face-to-face courses than their distance education courses. Data presented below summarizes course achievement at the two colleges during the 1999/2000 academic year, representing over 17,000 course registrations.

College A examined grade outcomes for the period from April 1999 to December 2000, a study involving eight disciplines and 9,906 student course registrations. Shown in Table 1, the

682 students enrolled in distance education were less likely to successfully complete their courses than their face-to-face counterparts (72% compared to almost 85%). Although not shown, completion rates in distance education courses were lower than in face-to-face courses in every discipline: the lowest completion rates were being in Biology distance courses (47%).

Table 1: Course Completion Rates by Method of Delivery, 1999/2000
Two Vancouver Island Community Colleges

Institution	**Delivery** Method	**Total** Registrations	**Fail, Withdraw** or Disappear	**Completion** Rate
College A	Face-to-Face	9,224	1,421	84.60%
College A	Distance Delivery	682	193	72.11%
College B	Face-to-Face	6,333	1,142	81.97%
College B	Distance Delivery	887	364	58.96%

* These data represent course enrollments in "college level" (non upgrading) classes at two community colleges during the academic years 1999/2000. Audit enrollments have been removed. Differences significant at p<.05

Hyatt examined completion rates of various delivery modes, finding higher success rates through instructional television services (telecourses) and lowest rates using videocassette instruction (1992, cited in Easterday, 1997). College B has the ability to analyze course completion rates by mode of delivery. For the 1999/2000 academic year, these data are shown below in Table 2. The interactive telecourses, a particularly expensive delivery format requiring technicians and satellite bandwidth, have high success rates. (At 82.3% these are marginally although not statistically higher than face-to-face courses.) As this college was only experimenting with web based course delivery in 1999, the extremely low completion rates for that class may be the result of a multitude of 'start up' delivery problems.

Table 2: Course Completion Rates by Mode of Delivery, College B 1999/2000

Mode of Delivery	**Total Registrations**	**Completion Rate**
Face-to-Face Class	6,333	81.97%
Interactive Telecourse	243	82.30%
Mainly Correspondence	625	50.40%
Web On-line	19	42.11%
Total	7,220	79.14%

Evidence is mounting that the courses with the greatest amounts of interactivity are those with the highest rates of student completions. A substantive change in the ability to use principles of adult learning occurs when distance education makes use of interactive technologies such as interactive television. This mode of distance delivery allows for student-instructor and student-student interaction, building on adult students' needs to have relevance and be involved as part of their learning experience.

Interactive television offers several benefits to students: it allows instructors to give immediate feedback to learners, and a teacher-student relationship is fostered. An earlier study (Beatty-Guenter, 1998) has shown that students generally view this method favorably, and have positive learning outcomes associated with telecourses. These synchronous and interactive learning modalities cover the distance between teacher and learners in short seconds, with both seemingly adapting to the slight 'blurring' effect that the transmission creates on the receiving television sets.

Carefully designed web courses need to include requirements for student-student interaction, not just student-instructor interaction. Well-designed interactive distance courses encourage students to be active learners, and allow for developmental conversations that will result in greater comprehension. The key factor is interactivity (Carr, 2000; Muirhead, 2000). Students and faculty members need to be able to interact around cognitive and affective dimensions. Teaching is not just about 'learning objects' and learning is not just about content. Interactivity is the spark that fires a successful instructional activity. Interactivity comes at a cost: it requires expensive equipment, small class sizes (18 to 20 learners seems an accepted course maximum), and significant adaptations of curriculum.

Institutional Theory and Isomorphism

That so many institutions are putting scarce resources into expensive delivery options that are not as evidently successful is perplexing. The institutional perspective provides theoretical concepts that explain the institutionalization of distance learning throughout adult education organizations. Institutional theory provides insights that may explain why distance education continues to grow in spite of lower student success rates. From this body of organizational theory, expectations about innovations such as distance education lead to explanations of the phenomenon using the concepts of diffusion and legitimacy.

Institutional theory predicts that successful adoption of an innovation proceeds from emergence through diffusion to stabilization in isomorphic (similar or equivalent) form across the organizational field. Meyer argues that education systems characteristically generate educational knowledge and proposed innovations, with an accelerated selection system of adoption and implementation (1992, p. 253).

Isomorphic Forces: Coercive, Normative, and Mimetic

There are three mechanisms by which institutional isomorphism occurs: coercive (conformity to political institutions), normative (through formal educational and professional networks), and mimetic (common responses to uncertainty based on modelling) (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). As a result of these mechanisms, organizations modify themselves to conform to the institutional norms and expectations of an organizational field. Structural homogeneity of organizational form results and related institutions become isomorphic. There is evidence of all three forces in this situation. Isomorphic forces in adult education cause all institutions to offer distance education, and consequently each one expends resources to develop and deliver distance learning to adults.

The coercive force toward isomorphism is the first to be considered. Coercive forces can be applied from funding agencies or from the administrative hierarchy of the institution. The role of funding governments at the policy level creates the context for change in adult education. Distance delivery of college level instruction is about access, and in this form became a key commitment of the British Columbia government. An objective under the goal of 'Access' in a 1996 government strategic planning document encouraged the community colleges and institutes in B.C. to get involved in distance learning (BC Ministry of Education, Skills and Training, 1996, p. 36). Institutions were rewarded for proposing programs using new technologies in innovative delivery formats. Adult educators develop programs that are likely to be funded: astute organizations 'follow the money', and consequently, more distance learning is offered.

Noble (1998) claims that digitization in higher education is predominantly the result of coercive forces. He claims that automation is forced upon faculty and students by administrative forces intent upon mass production and the standardization of adult learning. He documents coercive forces that resulted in a faculty strike and a landmark contract providing contractual protection regarding the digitization of course materials.

The normative source of institutional change arises from professional opinions about the way that things should be. Normative forces for isomorphism are intricately related to beliefs about appropriate behavior. Meyer and Rowan point out that beliefs ('myths') about organizational practices diffuse through networks in a system and gain legitimacy on the supposition that they are rationally effective (1977, p. 347). Statements about what institutions 'should do' are made by professionals at conferences, and in the literature directed toward practitioners.

There are normative reasons why colleges and universities now offer more courses using distance delivery. Noble points out how university administrators understand that automated education gives their institutions a "fashionably forward-looking image" (1998, electronic version). In Canada, Wedemeyer states the belief that "Education should be accessible anywhere there are potential students even if there is just one" (Wedemeyer cited by Faille, 1999, p. 13). The development of distance delivery methods is valued as a contribution to making education and professional development accessible "in the spirit of democratic governance" (Faille, 1999, p. i). Providing distance education thereby becomes a symbol of institutional responsiveness and effectiveness.

Mimetic Effects Characterize the Adoption of Distance Education

Mimetic changes are more aptly 'institutional' in character than they are rational. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) explain isomorphism by observing that organizations model themselves after more legitimate or higher status organizations within their field. Institutions imitate other institutions in terms of organizational strategy and structure in their attempt to efficiently address difficult issues. Conditions of uncertainty lead organizations to copy the structures used by apparently successful organizations. Under conditions of insufficient evidence about what works, an organization seeks to become more effective by imitating organizations perceived to be more legitimate. Teaching and learning using new technologies represents a perfect example of such uncertainty.

It may be that adult education providers adopt distance education for no other reason than that they observe other institutions doing so. Upon examination, I conclude that the mimetic effect is likely the most significant factor in understanding the diffusion of distance education across these institutions. Primary evidence for this view is found when there is a lack of institutional knowledge about the success of distance education offerings. To what extent do institutions know what is effective, and to what extent do they use this information when planning programs and courses? In a rationally purposive organization, one would expect the effectiveness of the innovation to determine the organizational outcome. The lack of information to monitor the effectiveness of adopted innovations is evidence of the mimetic effect.

In contrast with more nebulous concepts like 'learning' or 'personal growth', it should be relatively easy to collect data about course completions. Most student databases can provide useful data, once some agreement has been reached on a few definitions. Yet few articles or books in the growing literature on distance education attempt to measure or report on course completions. Institutional research colleagues attending a conference session[2] on this topic in

October 2001 reported that they had all seen growth in distance delivery at their institutions in the past ten years. When I asked these colleagues to report their course completion rates, 2 of the 13 institutional researchers reported the rates to be lower than in face-to-face courses, and 11 did not know the completion rates for their institutions. Noble's analysis is consistent, with the statement that institutions forge into digitized education without "support for their pedagogical claims" (1998, electronic version).

Policy Implications: Access, Ethics and Resources

Distance education can offer educational opportunities to students who may not otherwise have them within range. What is worrisome is the possibility that distance learners may be those who are culturally, economically or psychologically separate from mainstream education. If we are offering these students a lower chance at succeeding, then we have to question our design and programming decisions.

I am wondering about the ethics of our distance education offerings. If we were doing formal research about this topic, we might be required by our ethics committees to warn participants that they risk lower levels of success in enrolling for our 'experimental treatment'. Instead we advise students when they find that seats in the face-to-face classes are all full that they can still enroll in the distance-learning course (often the case at College B). Noble asks "if students are being used as guinea pigs in product trials masquerading as courses, should they be paying for these courses or be paid to take them?" (1998, electronic version).

Considerable resources have been allocated to the design, distribution and delivery of college courses, programs and degrees across dimensions of time and space. Inadequate attention has been paid to questions of student success. Resources shifted at every institution to increase distance delivery of courses to adults across Canada makes little sense when this delivery method seems to provide learners with less opportunity to succeed. The most successful distance education courses are the most expensive ones. I question our inclination to offer more courses that need additional support, yet achieve lower levels of course completions. Institutions that specialize in these learning modalities should provide distance education, so that resources to adequately support learners are concentrated. Unfortunately, institutional theory would predict this to be unlikely; and isomorphism to be the more probable outcome.

End Notes:

[1] The author thanks Lisa Domae, Lou Dryden and Paul Merner for providing access to the course completion data used in this paper.

[2] Pacific Northwest Association of Institutional Research and Planning (PNAIRP) Annual Conference, October 2001, Victoria, BC.

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Can Policy Be Care-Empowering? --Voices of Administrators

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Abstract. "Can policy be care-empowering?" is the research question. Little is known about how organizations change and how individuals change within organizations. Noddings's theory of care and Glaserian grounded theory design and methodology helped to guide this qualitative study. Policy is discovered to pull administrators toward, as well as to push them away from, care-empowering practices. Important implications are discussed for practice, theory, and research.

Purpose

Educational administrators and humanity are experiencing a time of deep change. For administrators to move through the change, rather than be knocked over by it, they need to see clearly the pathways they travel, their desired destinations, and the life-energy patterns that are in motion. There is, however, a dearth of information about how organizations change and about how individuals change within organizations, (Laiken, In progress; Senge et al., 1999; Smylie, 1994; Wideen & Pye, 1994; Fullan, 1993). Most of the current literature focuses on accomplishing tasks rather than on relationships around common tasks. Thus, this research addresses the administrators' voices regarding policy as care-empowering, and serves as the backdrop for a larger study which is described in my (Campbell, In progress) book and on the theory of care-empowering education. That theory extends Professor Noddings's theory of care. Policy is used here to refer to defining who is to take action on what content. Voice, which is adapted from Noddings (1984) and Belenky et al. (1986), is used to refer to the communication of personal energies in verbal and nonverbal messages. Caring-empowering, which is also adapted from the theory of Noddings (1994, 1992), refers to affirming and encouraging competence and confidence in drawing the best out of self and others.

Theoretical Perspectives

Noddings's (1992, 1994, 1984; Noddings & Shore's, 1998) theory of care emerges as central for guiding the collection and analysis of the data. She presents her theory as an alternative to the outmoded and dangerous subject-matter focus of the liberal orientation (Noddings, 1992, p. xii). Noddings's theory places subject matter at the existential heart of the learner. Thus, the focus is on "the stuff people really need to live intelligently, morally, and happily" (Noddings, 1992, p. xii) which centers around creating, maintaining, and enhancing positive relationships. The carer and the caree are both responsible for co-creating their relationship. Decision making takes into account the persons involved, with whom they have relationships, and the context in which they are situated. One great good is not positioned as superior, and means and ends are not seen as separate (Noddings, 1992).

Participants, Inquiry Site, Research Design and Methodology

The 20 participants in the larger study were four administrators and sixteen teachers in the same school system in Southern Ontario. In the portion of the study that is the central focus in this report, the key participant is an administrator who has been employed by the system for a decade. Because I wanted "to understand the participants in depth" (Merriam, 1988, p. 173), the case study design was appropriate. The qualitative, Galserian grounded theory (case study) methodology was appropriate because it, "tells us what is going on, tells us how to account for the participants' main concerns, and reveals access variables which allow for incremental change" (Glaser, 1999, p. 840). I opted not to apply Strausserian grounded theory because it requires examining the data by stopping at each word to ask, "What if?" (Stern, 1994, p. 220). Glaserian grounded theory is also appropriate for uncovering peoples' meanings, experiences, and interactions which are largely absent from the published research, as well as for where there is a need for a fresh approach to studying an area of interest (Glaser, 1978, 1992; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In addition, "grounded theories have 'grab' and they are interesting. People remember them; they use them" (Glaser, 1978, p. 4), and formal theory may ultimately be developed (Glaser, 1978). The initial research questions for the participants were designed to elicit descriptions of their current practices, as well as the process that allows them to acquire more viable educational orientations for their situations. Following Glaserian guidance, I collected data by "observations, interviews, documents, articles, books, and so forth" (Glaser, 1994, p. 184) while focusing on the processes going on inside the participant and in the participant's social encounters.

Insights

In this discussion of insights which emerge from the voices of administrators, some general references are made to the voices of teachers, all particular examples are cited from the experiences of administrators, and participants is used to refer to both administrators and teachers. The participants described three sequential policy changes during the past decade.

The Policy of Inclusive Education

The vision of the school as an inclusive community originates with a new senior-level administrator. He introduces this vision combined with strategic planning, as well as higher visibility for educational institutions and educators throughout the province. Inclusive policy is interpreted by the administrators to extend beyond themselves, teachers, and students, and to include parents, rate payers, and others. The participants told me about inclusive policy pulling them along pathways toward more care-empowering practices. This can be seen in their taking pride in acquiring *more caring images of themselves than had previously been manifested*:

> It is still one of the defining moments in the Board, ten years later. So for a long while, some of the key things that inspire us in this concept are practices and procedures which really do create inclusive community. Instead of having kids go to a small room at the end of the hall with three or four other special education students, how do we create an environment that has them included in the community? For instance, instead of isolating a child who is abused, or already isolated by a group of students, how do we help these students actually create a welcoming? (Albert, 15/01/97).

Similarly, the participants described the policy of inclusive education pulling them toward more care-empowering practices through their experiences with *what it looks and feels like to be cared for*. This is evident in the inclusive policy supporting the strengths of ongoing administrators as well as the strengths of a new administrator. Some of their strengths include integrity, Catholic education, collaboration, developing instructional programs, and organizational development. The policy of inclusive education leads to acquiring additional strengths when the administrators receive training in strategic management and in the process of curriculum-research-development-innovation (Albert, 16/02/98).

Yet, some of the participants describe not feeling cared for when the policy of inclusive education pushed them back from care-empowering practices. This can be seen in relation to the mission statement which had been formulated for use with strategic planning. Some principals feel the mission is put into place "too quickly" for guiding their practices in the schools (Albert, 16/02/98). Similarly, the administrators are pushed back from care-empowering practices when their implementation plans are disrupted by the sudden departure of the senior-level administrator who had originally introduced the policy of inclusive education. As well, this administrator is ultimately replaced by a person with less interest in the curriculum than his predecessor had been.

The Policy of Holistic Education

The vision of holistic education originates with:

> The Ministry of Education and Training having a collection of consultation papers, relating to the formative years and to the transition years and technology, which seems to be moving in the direction of a comprehensive framework that captures what we are all about. Then, in the 1990's, the Ministry promises to develop a comprehensive framework for the Province, and that the school boards would be expected to develop one as well (Elizabeth, 20/01/97).

The policy of holistic education is described by the participants as pulling them along pathways toward more care-empowering practices. It is "a time of doing wonderful things" (Albert, 16/02/98) such as learning more about *cultivating caring relationships based upon what the administrator is thinking and feeling during encounters with others, and their responses*. This can be seen, for example, in the administrators' delight around the reception of "fifteen kids from Dwight's school sing to the trustees at a Board meeting" (Albert,16/02/98). Similarly, a proposal for a booklet on the holistic framework is formulated and submitted for funding support from the Ministry of Education and Training. The funding is awarded, and an instructional program committee is created for producing the booklet. This committee comprises system-based administrators, school-based administrators, and teacher-representatives. The booklet is subsequently developed, and then used for guiding the holistic professional development of teachers. Examples of the booklet sections include educating the whole child, the student-centered approach to teaching and learning, spirituality (such as awe and reverence for life, prayer, a global perspective), supportive and nurturing environments, and integration and connectedness in experience. An additional section in the booklet describes holistic teachers as caring, authentic, reflective, and committed to their own faith development (Elizabeth, 20/01/97; Researcher Memo based on examination of the booklet, 30/01/97).

The Policy of Outcomes-Based Education

The policy of outcomes-based education originates with the revision of the curriculum by a new Ministry of Education and Training. In this new curriculum, there is no reference to holistic education. The response of the administrators is not feeling cared for. Albert, for instance, struggles with living his way through great surprise and deep disappointment (Albert, 15/01/97). Although the participants are thereby pushed back from care-empowering practices, they are pulled forward when *their reasons for caring emerged from their own projects*. This is illustrated by the Superintendent of Curriculum helping to keep holistic education alive. Subsequently, they move beyond the ten mandated outcomes for students --toward a preferred set of outcomes for the system--. This is exemplified by their extension of the required outcome, exploring educational and career opportunities, by adding "contributing toward the dignity of persons and to the advancement of the common good." Similarly, the administrators extend the required outcome, making wise and safe choices for healthy living, by adding "which promotes a positive sense of self,.. Respect for others, responsible decision making, and personal reflection" (Albert, 15/01/97). The administrators also described pulling toward more care-empowering practices through designing extensive plans and a calendar of training events. This training is to ensure that "teachers have clarity as to how all of this –including the use of observations and portfolios for assessing students' work-- is derived from the mission statement" (Albert, 30/01/97; Elizabeth, 17/10/96). In addition, a plan is created and implemented for providing training sessions for principals and teacher-representatives, and for those principals and teachers to provide similar training sessions for the teachers in their own schools (Elizabeth, 20/01/97; Albert, 30/01/97).

The participants are, however, pushed back from care-empowering practices when severe financial cutbacks are introduced by the Ministry of Education and Training. The outcome is that "a lot of people are profoundly, profoundly hurt. A lot of young teachers are let go. The secretarial staff takes a huge hit in terms of their working hours. Many people say, `The mission statement is hypocritical " (Albert, 16/02/98). As well, the two Federations claim that there is "a lack of integrity in the negotiations" (Elizabeth, 20/01/97). These pushing-back experiences overlap with pulling-forward experiences. This is illustrated in the following quotation:

> I realize when I look at particular methodologies and pedagogies or various instruments that they embody where I am *called* to work, as opposed to my aiming to having the whole organizational culture express and realize those high sets of ideals... Thus, I am not to be so lofty and so idealistic, but more conscious of peoples' hurts, more conscious of the need to facilitate with greater sensitivity in living our mission... I think I have become more human. I think a lot of us have (Albert, 15/01/97).

The more caring-empowering practices of the administrators are exemplified by their efforts to develop documentation in support of "all of those people working with the children being very proud of what the system stands for and of themselves, as well as counting on their own evolution and the evolution of the system" (Elizabeth, 20/01/97). In time, the administrators revise the mission statements, and it becomes the cornerstone document for describing "whom we are" since that document is "the sequel of the Board's strategic planning and the site-management planning process. It helps us to articulate what we believe in, and what our organizational goals are, as well as to devise some action plans to help get there on a day-to-day basis with our practices (Elizabeth, 20/01/97). Ultimately, seven components are created. These include the philosophy of Transformative Catholic Education, practice units, beliefs by everybody in the system and the larger Catholic community, a validated and modified mission statement, supporting and defining the spiritual system, and outcomes-based image of the learner for guiding the school. The outcomes-based image includes an additional (eleventh) outcomes which focus on religious education and faith development (Albert, 15/01/97, 30/01/97,16/02/98; Elizabeth, 20/01/97; *Mission* Booklet, 1995). The more care-empowering practices of the administrators are also seen in their asking the teachers for guidance regarding how they can best be supported in living up to the mission statement.

At the closure of the study, the administrators described ongoing challenges to acquiring more care-empowering practices. Some examples include:

- Facilitating each person getting "the big picture." Limiting the amount of chaos while increasing the amount of continuity and the daily attention to the mission (Elizabeth, 20/01/97).
- Coping with frequent initiatives for emergent curriculums which originate from the Ministry of Education and Training. Struggling to understand how some teachers make meaning (Albert, 30/01/97).
- Communicating the new curriculum mandates to parents whose attendance at information sessions is poor (Wanda, 6/02/98).
- Coping with stress in the system which often originates with the Ministry of Education and Training. "A lot of good things are being done. There is need to acknowledge the gifts of teachers, and to ensure they are happy and the children are learning and happy" (Dwight, 25/09/98).

Conclusion

In the larger study, from which this report is an excerpt, the process of care-empowering education was discovered to allow the participants to acquire more viable orientations for their situations. Care-empowering is a heuristic concept. Thus, the participant with totally care-empowering practice does not exist, nor does the participant with totally non-care-empowering practice. Policy orientations may pull the administrators toward, but may also push them back from, care-empowering practices. In some instances the pushing and pulling are experienced sequentially by the administrators. In other instances, they are experienced as overlapping.

Implications for Adult Education Practice, Theory, and Research

Implications for organizational change and for the individual's change within organizations emerge from this Glaserian grounded theory report on administrators' experiences with care-empowering practices. This can be seen in the criteria that must be satisfied by Glaserian grounded theory, *fit, relevance, working*, and *readily modifiable* (Glaser, 1992). The *fit* of the care-empowering theory refers to the day-to-day experience of administrators. As they continue on their pathways through this era of deep and unprecedented change, administrators may be comforted by the confirmation that policy may both pull them toward, and push them away from, care-empowering practices. The *relevance* of the care-empowering theory relates, for example, to administrators' need for vocabulary for thinking and communicating about policy. Much of this report is couched in the words of administrators, which may legitimize their striving to acquire more care-empowering practices. W*orking* refers to processes in the care-empowering theory which administrators can often use for responding successfully to challenges presented by policy. They may, for instance, discover their own reasons for caring through experience in their own projects. Similarly, they may cultivate caring relationships in encounters with others, through attention to their own thinking and feeling as well as to the responses of others. In addition, these references to fit, relevance, and working may suggest similar uses by persons interested in facilitating and/or supporting the learning experiences of practicing administrators and administrators-in-training. *Readily modifiable* refers to the possibility of educational practitioners and/or academic researchers identifying seemingly new patterns in the care-empowering theory. The new patterns would be comparatively analyzed for fit, relevance, and working which may lead to modification or enrichment of the care-empowering theory. New patterns will, however, *not diminish that theory.*

Academic researchers may wish to formulate their own research questions based this report on administrators' voices. Since genuine carers are caring in each aspect of their lives, academic researchers may wish to inquire into the appropriateness of care-empowering education for caring in other aspect of the lives of administrators such as caring for the earth, animals, plants, human-made objects. As well, academic researchers may wish to inquire into care-empowering practices through the voices of the full range of stakeholders in the education of children. Similarly, academic researchers may wish to apply the theory of care-empowering education in a variety of social situations where caring is the intention. Those situations may include hospitals, seminaries, universities, volunteer associations, etc. In this way, these researchers may contribute toward the development of care-empowering education as a *formal theory*.

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The Body's Tale: The Counterhistory of an Adult Educator

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Abstract: *The Body's Tale* is a Foucaultian counterhistory of the effect of education on the embodiment of subjectivity. It reverses the normal smooth telling of history and instead, re-presents my education in parodic and dis-associative ways. My countermemories of schooling show how it resulted in the (frequently willing) subjectification of myself as female, heterosexual, upper middle class, white and Imperial. Using poetry, narratives, academic prose and visuals, set in the temporal frame of an academic Book of Hours, the *Tale* may be read metonymically. I conclude that some embodied subjectivities are open to re-construction, but, because adult educators may become agents of pastoral power, we should adopt a practice of self-care which aims for self-knowledge through writing, rather than seeking to care for others.

Finding The Educated Body

In 1999, I set off for Britain to begin my research for *The Body's Tale*. The impetus for this study came directly from an earlier project in which I interviewed five women program planners about their experiences of gendered learning (Chapman, 1997). This time, I was tracking the process by which, as one of them had said, "education is applied at the site of the body." I wanted to find out how education had been applied to *my* body. I teach, work with and theorize about adults who come to university and college to be educated. These adults are extremely diverse—their ethnicities, gender, social backgrounds, sexualities and abilities vary tremendously, as do their reasons for coming. Some are beginning teachers; many are people pursuing graduate or professional degrees, or certification in adult or other educational fields; many are at a point of transition in their life, personal or professional; some people want to "learn their way out" of an uncomfortable situation; lots just come because they "have to." I bring to my theory and practice as a feminist adult educator a firm belief in the possibility for social change and the alleviation of social inequities through education, and the research I pursued was linked to this goal.

Embodied Subjectivities

If education is one of the great discourses that subjectify and normalize, as Foucault claimed, I believe there are some *subjectivities* (categories of identity, like race, class, gender, to which we are subjected and which make us subjects), which are more worthwhile than others. My research was dedicated to discovering what those subjectivities are, how they are constructed on the body, what impact my own might have on others', and how I can work with my colleagues and students to resist, or change, less equitable subjectivities. Poststructuralists/feminists (Butler, 1990; McWhorter, 1999) follow Foucault in understanding that when the power which always circulates in institutions, structures and social relations is applied to the body, its surface will become inscripted with the obvious markers of identity we are all socially and culturally coded to read, like sexuality, class, and, sometimes, occupation and character. I wanted to know how my schooling had marked/made me. And so *The Body's Tale* traces the genealogy of my educated body.

Genealogy

Genealogy is counter-memory as historical practice; it reverses the smooth, inevitability and flow of a traditional history (Foucault, 1984). It disrupts, parodies, and dissociates identity; it recognizes its slanted knowledge perspective, and resists the will to knowledge/truth. Counterhistory, or genealogy, cultivates details and accidents, it looks to the body and its exterior, not its interior. It is grey, meticulous and patiently documentary, it opposes itself to the search for origins, because if there is a secret, it's "not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that there is no essence" (p.78.). Genealogy requires "patience and a knowledge of details, *rigorous method*." I used postcolonial autoethnographic methods (Pratt, 1992) in conducting the research, thus acknowledging the co-constructedness of identity. Other's stories and descriptions of our common educational experiences helped me to better understand my own: and although The *Tale* has my body as its apparent subject of research, it is a metaphoric story where "the body" is metonymic: the reader can find connections, resonances, commonalities with her/his own schooling, and educational practices.

An Educated Book of Hours

Counter-Research

In the summer and autumn of 1999, then, I visited my schools, college, teacher-training program, old homes and many other places across Britain—Norfolk, Lincoln, and London. I wrote, in notebooks, in airports, at the coach station, on my laptop, on menus, on walls, and on myself. I interviewed old school fellows, teachers, staff, professors, and college students; these sessions were taped and subject to ethical guidelines, yet other informal talks (with the woman who ran the tea shop, the old man at the Post Office, the people I met on buses, trains and planes and in bed and breakfasts), also enriched my countermemories. I collected pictures and postcards, and took photographs—but not of people, for I wanted the spaces of my schooling to speak for themselves, and not be mediated by bodies. I encouraged memory: in talk, in staying in my undergraduate hall of residence, in play, and in the grief, fear, hope, joy and pleasure of reunions. I used all my senses. Sound: music, on the radio, at the Festival Hall. Taste: Victoria sponge cake and fish and chips and curry and muesli and tea in the garden. Smell: hallways, hawthorn blossom, and Miss Dior perfume. Vision: sitting, looking, seeking "views." And touch: the trees at Hubbard's Hills, the feel of the gate latch at my grandma's house, the rubber handle in pulling the chain in the toilet. My countermemories formed multiple texts, and so I wrote again, to analyze and make meaning of the body's stories.

Counter-Representations

When it came time to represent the text, I settled on a format that allowed me to mix temporalities, spaces and genres, but which was still coherent. I assembled the material into an academic Book of Hours—a nod to my training as a medieval historian—in 12 units which follow the body through a year of schooling. These prayer books, usually commissioned by rich laity, were a way to tell time, to mark the seasons, and the holidays. They are illuminated, light bringing and light suffused, full of colour and pictures; in their borders animals, people, angels and devils, disport and riot, marginal resistances to the Church's pastoral power. Very carnivalesque, too, what with all those bare buttocks and peasants' dangling privates below, ascetic saints preening above. My Book of Hours honours the timed nature of schooling, one of its great disciplining techniques; it's parodic; it's true to postcolonial autoethnographies in that it's funny, idiomatic and indigenous; and it uses visuals to represent the co-construction of time and place and the body. Each month contains a variety of genres, an academic dis-ordering of narrative disassociation, some parody, some masks, some pleasure, some pain. Stories of food, travel, and sex; theoretical musings, poetry and prose; photographs of toilets, cemeteries and palaces. The only certainty is that each section begins with a doorway—a liminal/lighted transitional space—and contains a bathroom. Enter any month, discern the patterns of words and pictures which clothe the educated body—or not.

Counter-Memories/Counter-Conclusions

I began with a belief that education is both a discursive and a colonizing practice, and *the Body's Tale* reinforced that belief. Yet I have also found much joy, as well as pain, in writing and researching, and now believe we take pleasure in the construction and inscription of some of our subjectivities. In a cumulative reading of the *Tale's* memory-texts, its stories, or findings, the reader comes to understand, as did I, the writer, that my education resulted in the (frequently willing) subjectification of myself as female, heterosexual, upper middle class, white and Imperial. This subjectification began at Home, was perfected at school, and reinforced in my undergraduate and graduate university education.

Power. Using a Foucaultian analysis which identifies three kinds of power, capacitive, communicative and relational, I came to see how this process works. Capacitive and communicative power was literally applied to me/my body to induce a self-understanding of an essentially flawed interior with a "natural" sexual identity. My countermemories illustrate how I internalized the effects of education's pastoral power (a bloc formed from all three kinds of power), and learned to police myself. I was then well trained, as a colonizer/individual disciplinary mechanism, to "swarm" out from the centre to the educational periphery (Foucault, 1977). However, writing my own story as a counter history, and coming to "know myself" through *askesis*, a form of ethical self care (Foucault, 1997), has demonstrated that it's the effect upon my actions of my discursively formed subjectivities that is crucial; the search for their origins or essential nature is far less important.

Fields of possibility. I've discovered my profound early training limits my body's ability to consciously subvert some subjectivities, like gender and race. However, I am able to resist others; moreover, I can teach others to do so, too. I discovered that where *power relations* existed in educational settings, as an active agent, "fields of possibilities" opened up to me, especially in heterotopic (Foucault, 1986) and "liminal" places/contact zones like toilets, bathrooms and hallways. Moreover, power needs to be constantly applied to subjects, and this iteration contains the potential for its failure or slippage. A resistance to communicative power is possible through re-writing the self, and in correspondence with others, as I show––for my *Tale* also chronicles a body project which successfully re-inscribed some subjectivities, thus demonstrating the productivity of power relations. At school, I had been known as the girl who couldn't do games, forced to sit on the sidelines, dismissed as clumsy, awkward, I had embodied a hatred of physical education—and the PE teacher who so tortured me… As I worked on my research, stories of those times, I began to run, literally, away from this self-construction; if you were to enter the doorway leading into June, you'd find the poem that ends this paper, one of a suite on Body Bits that flows through the *Tale*.... Perhaps it says more about what I discovered in the *Body's Tale* than academic writing ever could?

Reading the Tale as Adult Educators

The reader of the *Tale* might agree with me that three conclusions are of especial relevance for adult educators. Firstly, power is everywhere (see also, Brookfield, 2001); we can't give it up, or surrender it, any more than we can give up breathing. What I take from the *Body's Tale* is a deeper understanding of pastoral power and its agents. Originating in medieval Christian institutions, pastoral power sought to assure salvation in the next world. But it "cannot be exercised without knowing the insides of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets" (Foucault, 2000, p. 333). Modern pastoral power is concerned with saving us in this world, with our health, wealth, well-being, and safety, and its officials have increased; developing their knowledge of populations and individuals—for our greater good—they include the family, psychiatrists, employers... and teachers. We pride ourselves on being good listeners, counselors, and so much more than didactic lecturers. How can we tell if we are pastoral power agents—or just good critical pedagogues?

Secondly, there are indeed possibilities for change inherent in finding out, and then resisting, what "we are"; and how our, and our learners, subjectivities shift across spaces and time. What bodies are we re-making as we work with our learners (Chapman, 1998)? What subjectivities are we representing as the "best" or the most desired? Is it better to be an accommodator, or a diverger? Should we embody a (Western, Eurocentric) teaching style that suggests facilitation of learning is preferential, rather than one which "bodies forth" a didactic transmission of knowledge (Chapman, 2002)? If we "teach who we are" (Palmer, 1998), then self-knowledge, becoming aware of what we are, is crucial—for me, daily self writing/*askesis*, reinforced by dialogue, remains the key to ethical practice, rather than the formulation a theoretical moral guide.

Lastly, how we can counter our learned tendency to "swarm" out as colonizers/disciplinary mechanisms (Foucault, 1977), in order to articulate on to others' bodies the same techniques of power and discourse which constructed us. This is especially crucial when we are in power relations like teaching, really, at any time we are aware of our exercise of any kind of power, and when we are making and enacting policy, whether that be in the classroom or at a national level. I think above all we need to practice an ethics of caring for the self, rather than caring for others—a discourse which cloaks pastoral power—where our aim is self-knowledge through writing and counter remembering, not knowledge of others' bodies or souls.

Post-Scriptum: Writing New Bodies?

Many readers, researchers, teachers, learners, are turning to narrative to communicate their thoughts, to structure educational inquiry, or convey content, or reinforce alternative and traditional knowledge perspectives, and to enhance their practice. Forms of biographical and autoethnographical research are becoming increasingly common, and well accepted within the academy as viable methodological approaches. I endorse this movement wholeheartedly; I also remind writers that academic research is judged for its utility, or worth, or political power; forms of inquiry like the *Body's Tale* should therefore have a goal beyond what some call solipsism, narcissism, or expediency. They will aim to communicate, engage, make connections, uncover, and, often, provoke bodies into praxis. My hope is that readers of the *Tale* will enjoy, and identify with its body of work/verse/theory/prose, and will then re-write their own tales and their own bodies....

Body Bits VI

Stagger throbbing up Pipeline Road
Runners surround me.
I am
alone in pain.
Legs chest left foot right foot heart hurt toes knee back.
Trees far overhead. Green black needles. Chilled .
Will this hill never end another turn no summit.

Passing bodies
walkers, even runners.
I cannot walk. Keep on keep pushing keep running
keep right elite runners coming! Where?
A pack of five men
brown black shoots up the hill one pasty white trailing
a bullet after cheetahs
Speed beauty elegance no words to say how they
look. Goose pimples. A gift on a Sunday morning
a worshipful spectacle
such bodies so astonishingly agonizingly beautifully
inhuman.
Gone.

Pain hasn't.

I am nothing like them everything like them
body comprehends we are the same
inside out inscribing outside from the inside
making an effect,
a woman running up a hill one deep wooded morning in May.

We Are Runners.

Goodbye Miss Farrow
trampled under six thousand feet.
flattened amidst
dead water cups and Power Gels.
I smashed her whistle, cut her vocal chords with its
old effects. Old bodies.

New effects. New body.
2 16 28.

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Adult education and the production of knowledge for politics: Praxis and pedagogy in the Metro Network for Social Justice

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Abstract: This paper discusses the knowledges arising from social movement practices and the role of adult education approaches to capacity-building in articulating, disseminating and mobilizing those knowledges for politics. The paper draws on a detailed study of the Metro Network for Social Justice.

Social movements are producers of knowledges. Through their everyday practices of survival, resistance, and solidarity, emancipatory social movements are producing new and distinct knowledges about the world as it is, how it might be, and how to change it. These are privileged knowledges in the struggle for a world characterized by the visions and values of the movements.

These knowledges are grounded in specific practices and places. Movement-based knowledge is most often tacit, practical, and unsystematized. Nevertheless, some activist learnings are cumulative and inform and transform subsequent movement practices and politics. In some movement settings, learnings from everyday movement practice are consolidated through self-conscious processes of evaluation, reflection and documentation. Occasionally, the production of knowledge is further problematized and movements engage more self-consciously and reflexively in their own learning processes and develop and animate learning processes for larger publics as constitutive dimensions of their politics.

A culture of capacity-building undergirded by critical adult education practices are central to these processes of knowledge production and to the mobilization of social movement knowledges for political contestations over public policy. The dynamics of movement-based pedagogies pose challenges and opportunities to adult educators both within and beyond social movements, both theoretically and practically. Likewise, there are important challenges to make to social movements to more consciously embrace adult education orientation and strategies as constitutive dimensions of social change work in the contemporary period. Sustained investment in knowledge production remains contentious in many movement circles.

This paper draws on a detailed ethnography of the Metro Network for Social Justice (MNSJ), an urban social movement coalition located in Toronto. The ethnography documents the learning arising from activist practice over a five-year period in three main areas: the development of democratic organization; campaign-organizing in response to elections, government budgets and various government-driven policy initiatives; and self-conscious knowledge production activities which included popular education workshops, training of activist educators and academic seminars for activist leaders. (Conway 2001) .

Social movements and their knowledges

There are at least three distinct modes of knowing anchored in activist practice. Activists demonstrate, draw on and produce *tacit knowledges*. These are the insights and know-how that activists employ everyday to do what they do as activists. These are generated and transmitted informally through every day cultural practices in social movements: organizing meetings, planning campaigns, doing outreach for events, and so on. They are practical and unsystematized and rarely perceived as specific knowledges essential to activism. Tacit knowledges are constantly being revised and created, lost and rediscovered, as social movements innovate, culturally, politically, and organizationally, in response to changing contexts of struggle.

Secondly, social movements produce *praxis-based knowledges*. These are knowledges produced when social movement practitioners consciously, regularly and critically reflect on their political practice for what they have learned, about themselves and about the world they are trying to change. Subsequent practice is transformed in light of practitioners' critical reflection to which they have brought their evolving knowledges and theories about the world. Praxis-based knowledge is produced through practices of *reflexivity*. I will argue that praxis is central to the development of self-conscious and effective social movement organizations.

Thirdly, social movements occasionally engage self-consciously and systematically in *knowledge production*, in which they recognize the need and the value of engaging with, disseminating and advancing formal knowledges as a constitutive dimension of social change work. The generation of movement-based interpretations of the world becomes central to the movement's self-understanding and development, and to the capacity of social movement publics to enter into political struggles. The third recognizes, relies on and extends the first two modes of knowing but also involves a recognition that contestations over knowledge are increasingly central to political struggle in the contemporary period. (Melucci 1988; 1996; 1998)

I use 'knowledge production' to refer generally to this ensemble of knowledges, as well as more narrowly to refer to the third kind of activity. These categories are not self-contained. Each has multiple dimensions and is constituted by multiple and intersecting processes. I use terms like '*producing* knowledge' to suggest that knowledge is always 'knowing', a transitive verb, always in process, active, changing, unfixed and incomplete. As Bannerji writes: "If knowledge is to be "active," that is, oriented to radical social change, then it must be a critical practice of direct producers, whose lives and experiences must be the basis for their own knowledge-making endeavour." (Bannerji 1995, 65) The problem of knowledge for social movements is not simply or primarily one of appropriating or disseminating received knowledges, but is about producing the knowledges and identities that are constitutive of emancipatory agency.

Capacity-building in the MNSJ

The Metro Network for Social Justice is a cross-sectoral, multi-issue, permanent social justice coalition. Over the five-year period of this study (1992-97), the MNSJ grew to include over 200 member organizations and developed a rich, multi-faceted political praxis in a broad-based, popular democratic struggle against neoliberalism.

The MNSJ coalesced in Metropolitan Toronto in the early 1990s initially in response to deep cuts to municipal social programs. It was part of a wave of coalition-formation at a variety of scales in Canada following a major struggle and defeat over the signing of the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (FTA). Its member groups include labour unions, churches, anti-poverty and social service organizations, third world solidarity and international development groups, and equity-seeking groups representing women, people with disabilities, ethno-specific groups, and sexual minorities from across the Toronto metropolitan area. Throughout the period under consideration, the coalition sustained commitments to grassroots capacity-building, democratic organizational development, participatory knowledge creation, and broad-based campaigning. This multi-faceted praxis gave rise to new practices and emergent theories of knowledge production and its role in a reconstructed democratic politics.

Capacity-building in the MNSJ was understood broadly as the development of all kinds of skills and know-how as well as critical political perspectives in people and organizations. Use of the term was not confined to 'intellectual' development, narrowly understood. Although to a significant extent, capacity-building infused the whole of the MNSJ's activities, it was most self-conscious and developed in and through the MNSJ's 'Economic and Political Literacy (EPL)' work. The term 'knowledge production' foregrounds the specifically intellectual dimensions of capacity-building.

At the heart of any commitment to capacity-building in social movements is a set of claims (implicit or explicit) about knowledge and the role of knowledge in any transformative politics and the development of any alternative political project. In the MNSJ, capacity-building was informed by a conviction that masses of ordinary people are hungry to understand the world, that they (we) have the capacity to understand it, and that they (we) need to understand it in order to act to change it. This sensibility informed many MNSJ activists through their exposure to feminist theory and politics and critical traditions of social work, community development, and adult education. Many had also been exposed to the work of the brilliant Brazilian popular educator, Paulo Freire through Latin American solidarity politics and work and travel in Latin America. Many MNSJ activists assumed that, as activists, although they could function as catalysts and animators in the learning (politicization, identity-formation) process, they were also learners.

This capacity-building form of activism (and attitude toward knowledge and power) is characterized by an intellectual openness and a commitment to democratic and participatory process as central to the project of movement building. It places a premium on thinking, talking and acting together as the source of new forms of agency from which activists hope will emerge alternatives to the reigning order.

Knowledge from/for praxis

As the 1990s proceeded, the production of knowledge for both activists and the base was increasingly at the centre of campaign praxis. Activists needed to generate knowledge in order to produce more credible and effective political perspectives for whatever struggle they were waging. Political argumentation was central to persuading the media, the politicians, and the public. More immediately and importantly, it was indispensable in building cohesion, support, and political capacity among the member groups and the broader social base. Democratic and dialogical processes within the MNSJ like the campaign evaluations and 'community briefing and strategy sessions' produced knowledges for campaigns. Critical and shared political perspectives were central to devising campaign strategies and producing training and materials for campaign participants.

The MNSJ's campaign praxis included broad-based efforts to exert pressure for change on the Metropolitan budget, in municipal elections, on NAFTA, on the 1994 Federal Social Security Reform and 1995 federal budget, on property tax reform and the restructuring of governance in the Greater Toronto Area. Processes of knowledge production in social movements are central to processes of identity formation and to the generation of collective political agency (Smith 2000). Nowhere was this more apparent than in the MNSJ's campaign-organizing as base-, organization-, coalition-, and capacity-building proceeded together.

Activists drew on and generated tacit knowledges through everyday campaign-organizing activities. They also generated knowledge through praxis as each campaign was collectively planned and evaluated, the results debated and interpreted, and the insights disseminated. Each organizing process yielded particular insights and lessons that were carried forward to inform the next campaign and which also diffused through myriad discourses and practices to shape the overall culture and politics of the MNSJ. These processes were uneven and imperfect, but as activist practices go, they were systematized to an extraordinary degree. Activists also produced critical pedagogies, formal analytical knowledges and public political discourses as integral parts of effective campaigning.

Producing knowledge in the MNSJ was deeply dependent on and interwoven with processes of democratic organization. And organizational development was itself an arena of knowledge production. Knowledge in the Network about how to do democracy grew and developed over time and in the light of experience and collective reflection. Organizational *praxis* evolved in response to ongoing self-evaluation of democratic functioning, to concrete organizational, campaign, and capacity-building requirements, to questions arising from specific debates and conflicts, and from pressures and challenges arising from the changing historical-geographical context in which the Network was situated.

The MNSJ benefitted from the presence of feminist activists and the theory and practical know-how they carried into the coalition from the women's movement. Feminist-informed, adult education facilitation practices helped to democratize participation and to equalize voices of the silent and the marginal. They fostered the development of a democratic participatory culture and space for genuinely open, pluralistic discussion throughout the Network's many groups and fora.

The MNSJ's organizational processes, and the feminist know-how that undergirded them, were central to how popular and activist knowledges were articulated, systematized and mobilized for politics in the MNSJ. It suggests how particular organizational structures, cultures and processes can facilitate the germination and flowering of activist knowledges and enhance their political efficacy.

In the MNSJ, as in all processes of social learning, tacit and practical knowledges are essential to what people can produce together, politically and culturally. In the MNSJ, the effect of such tacit knowledges was multiplied through critical reflexive processes that, through ongoing evaluative reflection on practice, sought to name and distill those knowledges and self-consciously advance their development, dissemination and concrete application. This dynamic was central to the development of the MNSJ and, by extension, I suggest its centrality to the development of a self-conscious social movement and to democratic and effective social movement organizations.

Movement-based pedagogies and the production of knowledge

From 1992 to 1997, the MNSJ was also the site of a rich and multi-faceted pedagogical praxis. In speaking of pedagogy in the MNSJ, I am considering active intentional knowledge production processes, in which the intellectual development of self and others is central dimension of capacity building for political struggle. Pedagogy in this sense is a form of cultural politics, as a purposeful intervention in the shaping of knowledges and identities for a political project and as constitutive of a permanent process of ongoing cultural transformation. Pedagogy, of course, can be and often is a strategy for hegemony by elites consolidating their wealth and power. But pedagogy is also central to any democratic and emancipatory process (Hernandez 1997, 3).

This pedagogical praxis proceeded largely under the rubric of "economic and political literacy" (EPL). This was the stream of MNSJ work in which the question of knowledge as a political problem for social movements was first and most fully articulated. In response to the rising tide of neoliberal discourses on the economy and the new political terrain created by 'globalization,' MNSJ activists recognized the need to produce credible movement-based perspectives that both interpreted these developments and generated political leverage and progressive possibilities. They addressed issues ranging from the public debt, the crisis in public finance, the restructuring of social programs, and the widespread assault on the role of government in social provision. Activities included conferences, workshops, courses, study groups, and publications geared to the political and intellectual development both of activists, organizers, and community leaders, and of the popular base of the MNSJ's member organizations and other community groups in the city. These activities were articulated to campaigns but expanded to address more enduring questions provoked by the neoliberal revolution and larger than the purview of any single campaign.

If all knowledges are socially produced and emancipatory pedagogies are dialogical, then intentionally organizing 'knowledge production' for social movements has meant that questions of process, power and participation must be central.

> You can not separate knowledge from process. You can not... Because part of what building knowledge, developing knowledge is all about, knowledge *production*, incorporates the process you're using to get there. (Elisse Zack, MNSJ activist, June 12, 1998)

Who participates and under what conditions, informed by what experiences, concerns and values, directly and powerfully shapes the character of the knowledge produced, with its attendant insights, specificities and inevitable gaps. This philosophy of knowledge and its production intersects directly with concerns about democratic functioning. The democratic culture of the MNSJ was fertile terrain for the development of these theories of knowledge and this praxis of knowledge production. Likewise, deep-seated commitments to broad-based capacity-building, which are grounded, implicitly or explicitly, in appreciation of knowledge from below and commitments to democratizing 'expert' and hegemonic knowledges, are central to inculcating new, deeper and more genuine forms of democracy. This is relevant for all democratic political communities, however defined.

Attention *in practice* to these dynamics of knowledge/power and democracy was central to the political capacities and creativity that, for a time, were unleashed in, through and by the MNSJ. Conclusions drawn from reflecting on these social movement processes in the MNSJ are instructive for anyone concerned about and engaged in renewing broad-based democratic and emancipatory politics. They are likewise provocative for those considering the intersection of adult education and the building of countervailing power for struggles over public policy.

The presence, role, and prominence of knowledge production in social movement politics is contentious on the left (Conway 2000; 1999). To privilege knowledge production, and with it capacity-building and cultural politics, is in considerable tension with conventional notions of struggle, revolution and utopia. It implies an orientation to long and multiple revolutions conducted primarily in civil society. It moves away from the notion that domination is organized through a single system or according to a single logic which can be decisively overcome through a single revolution (Magnusson and Walker 1988). To promote a culture of capacity-building and dialogical knowledge production as constitutive of democratization is to conceive of utopia as an open-ended social process which is always in the making and the exact contours of which cannot be known in advance (Melucci 1998).

Creating political space for knowledge production, including for praxis-based knowledge arising from campaigns and protests, the development of critical pedagogies, and focused intellectual development of activists, implies certain forms and practices of organization and styles of political leadership. This study of the MNSJ provides many clues about the self-conscious nurturing of a culture of democratic participation and capacity-building in social movement organizations and the possible contribution of critical traditions of adult education to that project-in-process.

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Lifelong Learning or Re-Training for Life: Scapegoating the Worker

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Abstract: This paper explores the focus of lifelong learning in Canada, critiques current policies and practice, and calls for research that helps to stimulate alternate ways of looking at the concept of lifelong learning.

Historically there have been two distinct trends in the area of lifelong learning. The first concentrates on the formulations of definitions and models. It is optimistic and utopian in nature and looks at future possibilities in broad terms. The second trend is more critical. It looks at the dual nature of lifelong learning, explores the dangers and the benefits, and argues that lifelong learning can liberate or further enslave. Adherents of this trend believe that lifelong learning, like education in general, has clear ideological underpinnings (Gelpi, 1979; Ireland, 1978). Questions such as "In what direction do we want to move?" "What changes are we aiming at?" "What priorities do we want to establish?" "Who is to decide?" are political questions that force us to look at the political nature of lifelong learning (Ireland, 1978).

Building on a review of the adult education, social work and sociology literature, as well as Canadian government and OECD documents, this paper explores the current focus of lifelong learning in Canada. It looks at government policies and raises a number of questions for adult educators to address. It calls for research that helps to stimulate alternate ways of looking at the concept of lifelong learning.

In order to explore the issue of "lifelong learning", it is important to understand the political context into which it fits. Historically, lifelong learning in Canada has had a broad base that included learning in a variety of spheres (Selman, Cooke, Selman & Dampier, 1998). With economic globalization, however, this has changed and the ideological shift is clear. According to recent documents (Council, 1999; OECD, 2001; Statistics, 1999), lifelong learning in Canada now is tied solely to skill acquisition. Lifelong learning is considered to be "vital to maintaining competitiveness in a global knowledge-based economy" (OECD, 2001, p. 13). But what has this knowledge-based economy brought the majority of Canadians?

Since the introduction of the Free Trade Agreement in1989 and NAFTA in 1994, we have seen massive corporate restructuring so that Canada can be "competitive" with the United States. We have seen the emergence of a highly polarized workforce, a decline in full-time employment and a shift toward part-time contingent work. According to Statistics Canada, 25.3% of Canadians who work part-time do so because they are unable to find full-time employment. This figure rises to 33.4% for people in the 25-44 age group, and rises even further to 52.4% for men within this age group (Statistics, 2001). In addition, a report from Statistics Canada showed that approximately 47% of people who are laid off experience an average wage loss of 30% in their new jobs (Beauchesne, 2001), a statistic that speaks to the lack of "good jobs" in the new economy. For most Canadians, the standard of living has fallen considerably over the last decade (Yalnizyan, 1998). Corporate restructuring and layoffs have devastated the lives of many workers.

Campbell (2001) explained:

> Successive waves of corporate restructuring – bankruptcies, mergers, takeovers, and downsizing—have been accompanied by public sector restructuring—downsizing, deregulation, privatization, and offloading of state responsibilities. Public sector spending and employment have declined sharply and publicly owned enterprises in strategic sectors such as energy and transportation have been transferred *en masse* to the private sector. (p. 21)

A mindset bent on the privatization of public services is sweeping the country. This privatization frenzy is based on neo-liberal ideology that portrays the public sector as wasteful and the private sector as efficient. It justifies spending cuts for social programs, tax cuts for corporations and the wealthy, deregulation and the privatization of public services. Reid (1996) vehemently attacked this approach and said the attacks on government have "turned into an all-out assault on public programs at every level" (p. 271). He argued that privatization, budget cuts and user fees are destroying Canada's public infrastructure and said "there is no longer a cost-benefit analysis when it comes to providing public services—only a cost analysis" (p. 271).

Instead of focusing on job creation strategies, Canadian policy makers have focused on low inflation and wage control to enhance business competitiveness. The overall result of government policies has been to "transfer power from workers to management and investors, from wages to profits, from the public sector to the market" (Campbell, 2001, p. 25). The supremacy of the marketplace is the ideology that now dominates the globe (Reid, 1996).

Yalnizyan (1998) documented the growing gap between the rich and the poor and showed how government policies contributed to this polarization, a phenomenon that is not restricted to Canada. For example, the OECD Jobs Strategy of 1994 explored the problem of growing unemployment and advocated a draconian approach to job creation and training for its member countries. It was scathingly critical of public sector employment and called for the creation of jobs only in the private sector. It proposed a two-tier employment strategy consisting of high skilled jobs requiring high knowledge and low-wage jobs to absorb the "significant numbers of low-skilled unemployed workers" (OECD, 1994, p. 33). It explored ways to increase the hiring of low-wage workers and called for member governments to cut minimum wages, dismantle employment-protection legislation and lower trade barriers. The OECD issued follow-up reports documenting the degree to which member countries had implemented the strategy. Canada was applauded for not indexing minimum wages, which "allowed increases in average wages and inflation to erode their relative importance" (OECD, 1995, p. 19), guaranteeing a life of poverty for people working on minimum wage. Broad (2000) described the attacks on public sector workers, the restructuring of social programs, the reduction of the welfare state and the devastating consequences. In fact, the attacks on social programs have been so severe that, in comparison with other countries, Canada is now seen to be a "low spender on income maintenance, health and education as a proportion of GDP" (Ross, Scott & Smith, 2000, p. 155). Where once Canada had a social safety net that spanned the country, we now have been reduced to a society of winners and losers. Reid (1996) argued "as the advantages held by the 'winner' increase, so, seemingly, does their contempt for the 'losers'" (p. 231).

Lifelong Learning

Ettore Gelpi, with a background in adult education and social work, was responsible for lifelong education at UNESCO from 1972 to1993. His works provide a major contribution to the theoretical discussion of lifelong education. Beginning with the premise that "lifelong education policies are not neutral" (Gelpi, 1979, p. 2), Gelpi was clear. He believed that lifelong education could emancipate and encourage democratic participation, or it could be used to repress, manipulate and control. As well, lifelong education could be used either to reinforce the established social order or to be an agent of change, helping people to free themselves from that social order (Ireland, 1978).

It is clear that, in the current political climate, lifelong learning serves to reinforce the existing social order. The mandate of lifelong learning has shifted from covering a broad variety of areas to focusing solely on the development of skills needed for the new economy. Lifelong learning for other purposes has been lost. We are being told that we have entered the age of the knowledge society and that the most important workers in today's economy are "knowledge workers." However, Reid (1996) argued that when Wall Street and Bay Street talk about a knowledge society, they are really talking about an *economic information society*. Reid argued that much of the education people have attained is considered to be irrelevant in our cutthroat economy. For example, he asked, "what are we to make of the new knowledge-based economy when a Vancouver hospital announces it is cutting nursing positions so it can hire less trained and lower-paid nursing assistants to do their jobs" (p. 271, 272).

Shields (1996) looked at the rhetoric around labour-market trends and the direction of public policy and argued that, on the one hand, the value of training dominates public policy discourse. Policy analysts, he said, firmly believe that Canadian competitiveness in the future will be based on the good jobs associated with a highly skilled labour force. On the other hand, he said, labour market trends show that, at the present time, most job creation is in the area of flexible, low-wage and insecure employment.

Swift and Peerla (1996) argued that training as a solution to job insecurity "hinges on convincing the workforce of the need to train and train again" (p. 31). Under the banner of lifelong learning, training will presumably re-tool workers so they will be able to compete for jobs in the high-skill economy. Government studies continue to speak of the importance of education and training as "pillars of …economic growth and of global competitiveness" (Council, 1999, p. 1). However, despite all the rhetoric, the reality has fallen short. Many Canadians with college diplomas and university degrees are unemployed and underemployed.

Contrary to public opinion, a lack of training is not the problem; rather, it is the lack of decent jobs to employ Canadians (Livingstone, 1999). There is no shortage of skills, but there is a shortage of jobs for people with skills. This argument is supported by Statistics Canada information compiled by Ross et al. (2000) which showed that between 1981 and 1997, the proportion of people with post-secondary education who were living in poverty rose dramatically. In essence, the proportion of poor families with a post-secondary education rose to 32.6% while the proportion of poor unattached individuals in Canada with a completed a post-secondary certificate, diploma or degree rose to 30.7%. At the same time, as outlined in Table I, the proportion of poor families with 0 – 8 years of education fell by over half.

Table I

Percentage Distribution of Low-Income Households, 1981, 1989 and 1997

	1981 (1978 base)		1989 (1986 base)		1997 (1992 base)	
Education	Families	Unattached Individuals	Families	Unattached Individuals	Families	Unattached Individuals
0-8 years	31.3%	42.8%	23.6%	34.1%	13.2%	21.6%
9-10 years	21.2%	14.4%	19.2%	15.3%	14.3%	13.9%
11-13 years	28.5%	21.3%	29.4%	20.9%	32.5%	24.5%
some post-secondary	5.5%	8.6%	6.1%	9.4%	7.4%	9.4%
post-secondary cert./diploma	7.5%	7.1%	16.9%	14.9%	23.8%	20.2%
university degree	6.0%	5.9%	4.9%	5.5%	8.8%	10.5%

Source: Ross et al. (2000). The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty, p. 63.

Stanford (2001) argued that even though Canada has one of the best-educated workforces in the world, millions of Canadians are either unemployed or underemployed. Yet the unemployed are still being told to "get an education." Stanford (2001) said:

> At the policy level…the clarion call to 'educate, educate, educate' provides a handy catch-all solution for just about any economic or social problem imaginable: poverty, low productivity, globalization, inequality. (p. 31)

Re-training assumes there will be plenty of work if people develop skills to meet the needs of the new economy. However, it doesn't matter how well trained workers are if technology is creating a world without enough good jobs to go around (Reid, 1996).

The training myth is largely based on the fact that Canadians with a university education will have a better chance of finding jobs than people without degrees. However, many Canadians are working in jobs totally unrelated to the area in which they studied. They are hired because it's assumed that they will be more capable than people without degrees. However, training by itself will not solve the problem of disappearing jobs, nor will training create more jobs (Reid, 1996).

The promise of developing skills for the new economy is seen, by many, to be a hoax that is being perpetrated on Canadians in an attempt to deflect attention from the job crisis. However, Dunk, McBride & Nelson (1996) argued that the push for increased training is part of an ideology that sees unemployment as a temporary problem, criticizes the education system for failing to provide adequate training, and blames individuals for their inadequate skills. Within this ideology, once the unemployed receive training, their problems will be solved. If they continue to be unemployed, it will be their fault. Unemployment, then, becomes an individual "deficit" problem. This ideology creates the space "to justify coercion and 'policing' of the unemployed" (p. 3).

Dunk et al (1996) argued that training "is being advanced as a substitute for an economic and industrial strategy rather than as part of one" (p. 4). The focus of training is on the supply-side of the labour market and is unconnected to the realities of the labour market. As a result, the question "training for what?" persists. The training as a solution argument provides a rationale for cutting back on income security programs and diverting funds into re-training programs (Dunk et al., 1996), a process used by some provincial governments to force welfare recipients to participate in learnfare programs. Again, we see a blaming the victim approach as learnfare programs have proven to be inappropriate responses to a structural problem.

The growing polarization of the labour market is paralleled by a similar trend in training. While a two-tiered job system is widening the gap between the rich and the poor, "lifelong learning" (HRD) is increasing the skills of a small number of workers in the high knowledge, high wage tier. Workers who are underemployed are ignored, and the unemployed are forced into meaningless learnfare programs. Thus, "lifelong learning" can and does serve to reinforce the creation of two classes of workers.

As adult educators, we need to question our role in the "knowledge society." Are we challenging the ideological underpinnings of market driven lifelong learning policies or are we helping to widen the gap between the "winners" and the "losers"?

Where do we go from here?

A democratic society requires balance. The "new economy" is a lopsided economy that supports big business at the expense of workers. The business community has hijacked the traditional concept of lifelong learning and we are seeing an eschewing of its values. Lifelong learning should go far beyond its current, narrow focus of skills training. Gelpi (1979) believed that lifelong education should question and critique economic, educational, cultural and political domination. He argued:

> Lifelong education is based on a dialectical theory. It is not an absolute. It must itself be subject to unceasing criticism. Its declared foundations must be subject to challenge, and studies should help to redefine its theory and its practice. (p. 21)

More recently, Susan George (1997) spoke of the importance of conducting and disseminating research that challenges the market dominated global society. She argued that the left has concentrated on developing projects and programs which have failed because they "exist in an ideological context which systematically counters their aims" (p. 2). She argued that research is imperative in order to counter the neo-liberal policies that have been nurtured through research and outreach funded by right-wing think tanks.

SSHRC now is funding research into both lifelong learning and the new economy. SSHRC program information, on the lifelong learning section, lists a number of research questions it feels are important to address. At first glance, it seems to focus solely on the utopian trend as described at the beginning of this paper. However it is important to be more critical of current lifelong learning policies and adult education practice, and this must be done in the context of the new economy. The two research topics are interwoven and there is a critical research role that university adult educators can play in an attempt to influence government policy.

It is important to use these funds to question the narrow skills focus of current policies. We should explore the positive things that lifelong learning can do for people, for communities and for democracy—not only its supposed impact on our productivity and our competitiveness (Stanford, 2001). We need to conduct and disseminate research that explores alternate perspectives that can be used to develop more progressive lifelong learning policies designed to improve the quality of life for all citizens.

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Policy, accountability and practice in adult literacy work: Sketching an institutional ethnography

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This paper, aspiring to a kind of research that is in dialogue with the working experiences of adult literacy workers and learners, opens up questions about relations between policy and practice in adult literacy — in particular how the immediate practice of literacy work is shaped to address terms of policy.

Both research studies and writings from the field recognize clashes between dominant conceptions of literacy, often embedded in policy, and actual literacy. One seminal theme of practice-oriented literacy research is that centralizing conceptions obscure the variability and the social character of actual literacy practices and "needs" (e.g. Barton and Hamilton 1998). Paralleling this, tendencies to participatory teaching in adult literacy work respect the complex particular actuality of learners, the literate demands they encounter and the opportunities they pursue (Auerbach 1993; Darville 1995). Practice theory also recognizes that unitary conceptions of literacy are aligned with power relations — expressing dominant views of ordinary people's il/literacy, not people's own understandings of literacy. Within literacy work, there are parallel recognitions of participatory initiatives inhibited by conventional conceptions and standardized accountability mechanisms.

This paper builds on the attention to policy that arises from practice theory in literacy studies, and participatory themes in literacy work. The paper isn't a polemic, but opens up, to empirical investigation, the relations of actual literacy work to policy conceptions and accountabilities. What *is and can* be done between teachers and learners is shaped not only by teachers' knowledge and beliefs, but also within a large array of managerial conditions — funding rules, credentialling requirements, student eligibility, curriculum specifications, and so on. I am concerned here particularly with the terms in which students' learning is reported on or "accounted" in relation to managerial processes. The paper looks from the experience of literacy work (particularly in Ontario) to the institutional conditions within which the work is done — it inquires into the relations of policy, and accountability and practice.

Institutional ethnography

Institutional ethnography, initiated in the work of sociologist Dorothy E. Smith (1987; cf. G. Smith 1990; Campbell and Manicom 1995; Grahame 1998; DeVault 1999) is one method for investigating the institutional conditions of experience. Like any ethnography, it is concerned with describing particular situations, and how people's action and interpretation make those situations what they are. But in contemporary society, situations are not free-standing. Institutional ethnography unfolds the ways that everyday experiences are shaped by and worked up for ruling within encompassing institutional processes of government, business, media, professions, etc.

Conventional research procedures connect particular action to institutional processes by tying "micro" description to "macro" theory. Institutional ethnography proceeds differently. Although it is always tailored to the situations it investigates, there are common strategies. (1) Institutional ethnography explicates local activity and experience, with particular attention to language as a coordinator of attention and action, and holder of forms of knowledge and social organization. (2) Starting from local experience as a vantage point, institutional ethnography adopts the concept of "social relations" to direct attention to sequences or chains of action, in which what is done at one place and time connects to (depends upon or aims to produce) what is done at others. So specific situations are attended to as segments of extended courses of action, conjoined across locales. (3) Institutional ethnography recognizes that the coordination of dispersed events in our kind of society is routinely effected through uses of texts and documents, distributed across locales or passing from place to place. These uses of texts are immensely varied, but two "conceptual practices of power" (Smith, 1990) are of general significance. (a) At the front line of many institutional arrangements, there is a transposition of whatever actually happens in people's lives and in work processes, into abstracted categories that conceptualize what happens in a form that makes it administerable, that articulates it to the ruling institutional process. These categories are embedded, for example, in case reports, report cards, application forms, tickets, etc. (b) At a different level, public and policy discourse, a generalized language for describing and explaining the society, its problems and solutions, is articulated. This discourse, in the form of editorials, news coverage, policy research reports, position statements and discussion papers, cuts across specific organizational settings.

Research interviewing for institutional ethnography is conducted in conjunction with discourse and documentary analyses (McCoy and DeVault 2002). Interviews and documents are taken as "specimens" of institutional processes. Like botanical specimens, they can be analyzed to reveal their internal structures. But they also are organized by and for their connections to other moments of institutional activity, and are analyzed for that, too. The interviewer attends to "how they speak" — how people's talk is woven into the action and situation of which it is part, and displays its order. The researcher also "follows the talk," tending to how bits of what is said hold its connections or its sequential relations to other moments of action. Similarly, documents are not simply read for "information," treated as telling about what they report, but are analyzed as elements or constituents of the action into which they fit. The concern is for how they are taken up in organizing that action — for how people orient to them, interpret and apply them.

Institutional ethnography has been used to investigate processes, in schooling, public health, and social work, as well as adult education and training. Here I begin to sketch its use for study of what can be called the adult literacy policy process or "literacy regime" — those interpenetrating discursive and organizational (especially governmental) processes, conducted at diverse times and places, that promote, coordinate and regulate adult literacy work.

The literacy regime

The adult literacy "issue" emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. What had been a miscellany of community and local school board or community college programs, affiliated with supportive civil servants, often informed by the democratic impetus of contemporary social movements, was pushed by advocates and pulled by other concerns into the thick of social and labour market training policy and policy-oriented discourse.

Those building the regime have undertaken two major conceptual tasks. First, they have developed arguments about literacy for public and policy discourse, shaping government mandates and justifying public resource expenditures. These arguments have tied the literacy issue into the broader ruling relations, the interlocking forms of economic, political and other organization and discourse, through which people's action in our society is coordinated and managed (Smith 1998). Early advocacy and policy statements presented literacy as desirable for citizen participation and illiteracy as associated with issues of public order (criminality) and state finance (dependence on governmental income supports in social assistance or unemployment insurance). A second wave of research studies and analyses associated literacy more with efficient and "competitive" work organization — avoidance of workplace accidents and errors, and labour force flexibility and trainability. But the earlier emphasis on "costs" has not been abandoned.

Consider the conceptual structuring of these familiar arguments. They render literacy categorically as an individual attribute (a "skill"), autonomous from and "applied" in particular situations, and transmittable (coercively if necessary) from institution to learner. Literacy so constructed is isolated as a policy object, to be measured (as that individual attribute), and associated with and manipulated to affect other policy objects — employment, movement off social assistance, economic competitiveness, perhaps political participation. (Related studies of documents within the policy process — media accounts, the International Adult Literacy Survey, and a wide range of policy processes — include Darville 1998, 1999; Hamilton 2001; LoBianco and Wickert forthcoming).

A second major conceptual task of regime building has been the shaping of a managerial cohesion between government policy and program regulation and organization. There have been steady efforts from the late 1980's to adapt or devise administrative devices that define what counts as "literacy" and literacy education or training, for purposes of its governance. These include of course organizational forms (school boards, colleges, community programs) whose work can be treated as serving policy goals. There are also — continuously under development — regulatory practices or "accountabilities," vested in documents (funding requirements and formulas, curricula, tests or standardized templates of "outcomes" for student assessment, and so on) that aim at systematic administration of programming in relation to mandate-given goals. Front-line pedagogical practices, dealing directly with students, are shaped, at least in part, to conform to, to be describable within, the accountabilities, mandates and discourses that organize the regime at "higher levels."

So, to put it in an overly tidy way, policy is fitted to the overall governing of society, programming fitted to policy, and the actual conduct of literacy work fitted to the accountability practices through which it is regulated. All this is accomplished in the working activities of those (of us) who participate in the regime.

However, the actuality of literacy exceeds its forms of ruling. At the front line, literacy as the policy construction — transmittable skills lodged in individuals, graspable distinctly from other aspects of life — clashes with the actuality that literacy is not individual and separate. The conceptual rendering excludes: all the ways that individuals' practices are threads in the knitting together of communities or institutions; that literacy learning is informed by people's determination to transform their lives; and that practices are not transmittable but must actively be "invented." The clash — between policy object and actuality — appears (often without being noticed as such) in diverse ways — in discussions of "dispositional barriers" to program participation; in repeated discoveries of the effectiveness of learner-centredness and urgings that this effectiveness should be recognized in policy and practice; in the persistently messy boundaries between teaching and social work or therapy or politics.

On the ground, in literacy work itself, there is always an excess of the actual work over its categorical rendering. The question here is how connections are made, in the shaping and winnowing of the work, to policy-oriented accountability. To begin an examination of this, I briefly examine several "specimens" of the regime's workings.

Training plans and learning outcomes

While there is a broad continuity of themes in policy mandates for literacy, the specifics of documentary regulation vary across Canadian jurisdictions. The accountability system in Ontario is perhaps unique for its penetration into the detail of teaching work. I provide here a bare outline. Ontario government action for literacy is centred in the Literacy and Basic Skills (LBS) Section, within the Workplace Preparation Branch of the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities. The chief aim of LBS is to ensure "employability" for the long-term unemployed, especially welfare recipients, although programs are also open to others aimed to improve job skills or deal with everyday needs. A subsidiary objective program is to ensure "accountability" to government, public and learners in the "provision of literacy services" that are "effective, efficient, and produce measureable results" (Ontario 2000).

Many documentary processes are involved in program coordination — including contracts between LBS and agencies, "regional plans" detailing the roles of different programs, etc. In the system for documenting learner activity and progress, two kinds of documents are used directly by teachers (or volunteer tutor coordinators) and students. (1) On intake, and periodically thereafter, learners are assessed with reference to a Learning Outcomes matrix, with several domains (reading, writing, speaking/listening, numeracy, self-management) broken into five hierarchical skill levels (Ontario Literacy Coalition 2000). (2) Training Plans include both long-term (especially employment) goals, and more specific, attainable, learning goals. Students keep portfolios of their daily work, which should be connected to Training Plan goals. These paper or computer records of the processes and products of teaching work connect to reporting processes to the Ministry in two ways. Individual student changes from level to level are aggregated at the program level, and incorporated into a computerized Information Management System. LBS Field Consultants conduct site visits; in conducting audits examining eight distinctly defined components of "service delivery" and "service development," they may review training plans and portfolios, and interview students.

These documents (cf. supra) are not treated here as sources of "facts" about learning, or as descriptions of what is actually done in the work. Rather the concern is with how actual working activities are aimed at or constrained by the documents, and with how the documents are interpolated within the regime, mediating between front-line work and policy mandates. I outline here some of what I've heard in several interviews and related documents — recognizing that literacy workers often display in their talk, if we learn to hear it, more than they say in so many words about how local experiences are threaded into more encompassing orderings. At the risk of over-simplification, I make three broad preliminary observations.

(1) In interviews with practitioners, talk often turns to "the burden of paperwork," even when no questions have directed attention to it. One former instructor recollects "demonstrations for an incredible number of skills," and the paperwork as "mind-boggling," "a system run amok." Another practitioner says that looking for outcomes requires a "schizy," contradictory attention, both "down" to particular student activities and how to respond to them, and "up" to how activity can be translated to fill a category. So the paperwork consumes time and attention. But its overall sense can be experienced variously.

(2) One program coordinator emphasizes how learners may be involved in writing the Training Plan. They may engage in "detective work" about possible jobs and the skills required for them; this can show them the value of learning, or perhaps lead to a revision of their goals. The Plan "puts students in the driver's seat." Some "struggle with the idea of setting goals," especially those "brainwashed" by the traditional system into wanting to be "treated like a

receptacle." For teachers it can "take some getting used to" — especially for those in the "traditional mould," using chalk-and-talk from the front of the room. They "want a curriculum" and "reams off stuff ready to pull out." You have to "sit down with them ... bring them along." She says she's "a tyrant sometimes," saying to an instructor "No, this won't do, there's no evidence of student input. The work looks off the rack.... I asked the student about his Training Plan and he said, 'What's a Training Plan?'" So the accountabilities can used as a kind of retraining device, to structure, even force, a replacement of "traditional teaching," with a "progressive" process that involves students in conscious goal-setting and monitoring of their learning, and that requires instructors to stimulate and support that process. This practitioner did not discuss Learning Outcomes. But seeing progressive tendencies as consistent with the accountability system is promoted in urgings, for example, that, no matter what standards are "imposed upon teachers, it is possible to start with what students want or are interested in, and then afterwards to map the activity to the learning outcome..." (Ciancone and Tout 2000).

(3) However, the accountabilities can also seem obstructive, when experienced as crowding out different innovations in pedagogy or in connections of literacy to community organization. One practitioner explicitly describes the time required to do paperwork as supplanting time to reflect, do research, and work with learner writing and publishing. Another speaks of the "occupational hazard" of having to book time off to put in order her thoughts about work (her own thoughts thus not being part of the job). The practitioner who saw paperwork run amok speaks with some pain and confusion about talking with students at break-time, hearing stories of common struggles in their lives which call for some (educational) response — yet feeling at a loss for anything to do. Listening for the institutional organization of this "local experience," I hear how the opening to develop literacy practices rooted in learners' particular struggles is cut off — by time pressures, the contradictory attention to learner and document, the individualizing force of the accountability system, and the absence of an alternative accountability of the aims and processes of literacy work. Related concerns arise among aboriginal practitioners seeking to develop a "culture-based approach" focused on respect for life, building on oral traditions and aboriginal thought and languages, and aimed at group strength as well as individual freedom (Gaikezheyongai 2000). These practitioners find that "Using the Learning Outcomes Matrix as the basis of evaluating learners and their progress pulls literacy program staff/instructors away from their teaching activities and toward administrative duties .... Administering each component basically requires, in the words of one practitioner, 'documentation, documentation, and filing more supportive documentation'" (18-9). Native practitioners observe "little room for the design and development of collaborative efforts" and partnerships across the Native community (21). Some describe outcomes models as a "deficits-based approach" that "will never work for Native learners" (29). So in general, the accountability system, with its individualizing force, can be experienced as undercutting innovative and collective work between practitioners and students, and work to develop literacy as an aspect of a community development process.

Prospect

The accountability system of Learning Outcomes and Training Plans renders literacy as individual skill, categorized on a hierarchical list of "outcomes," demonstrated by work in a portfolio which is connected to a Training Plan. All this counts as an attainment of the policy object called "literacy," whose production is justified as increasing competitiveness and reducing the need for government expenditures. Although the system standardizes accounting procedures, it produces not uniform but contradictory experience among those enacting it.

The present paper only sketches the framework for a kind of inquiry into the literacy regime, and exemplifies it, in preliminary observations on interview and document "specimens" from the regime. There is much more to be done. Explorations of learners' experience. Explorations of the "accounting" work both of practitioners in different teaching situations, and of Ministry officials. Explorations of accountabilities' relations to the mandate for literacy articulated in public and policy discourse and in electoral politics.

Institutional ethnography is capable of alignment with actual experiences of literacy work, since it begins in the particular and sets out to find "how it happens" or "how it works" (as Smith says). So it can serve as a tool for literacy workers trying to understand, perhaps to shape, the larger processes that both enable and constrain their own activity. If there is hope for grounding literacy policy and administrative organization in the logic or the discoveries of literacy practice (Darville 1992, Quigley 1997), such research is one resource.

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Vocation in Adult Education: Widening the Gaze

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Abstract: This paper examines the history of the meaning of vocation as a foundational vantage point for reflecting on the "contested terrain" of both public policy and everyday practice for adult educators and learners alike.

Introduction

The term *vocation* appears in the adult education literature in two related but slightly different ways. Most prominently, it has been used to refer to the social purpose of adult education, and the critical role of the adult educator as an agent of social change. Collins (1991) uses the idea of vocation to advocate for a return to the social movement roots of the field, in resistance to the ideology of technique that permeates current adult education discourse. Building on Collins, Martin (2001) similarly poses the question, "what can we do to rescue adult education as a vocation, i.e., as the work we choose to do as distinct from the job we have to do?" (p. 257). Deployed in this way, the idea of vocation serves as a rallying call for adult education as a socially and politically committed practice, rather than simply as a process of delivering employability skills to meet the needs of business and industry.

In addition to its use referring to the place of the adult educator, vocation also occasionally appears in the literature referring to the person of the adult learner. Notably, Freire (1970) names the "vocation of becoming more fully human" (p. 28) as the ontological condition of human freedom which the forces of domination in society serve to stifle and oppress. Masschelein (1998) echoes this theme to draw parallels between vocation and the idea of critical emancipation to achieve a full sense of recognized and engaged personhood. Although in this second usage (à la Freire and Masschelein), there is a subtle shift in emphasis from the vocation of *doing* to the vocation of *being*, the link between vocation and resistance is similar to the first usage (à la Collins and Martin). Both usages share an ideological lens of critique of what Taylor (1991), among others, refers to as the "primacy of instrumental reason" (p. 6).

However, a more lamentable commonality between these two usages is that, in both, the term vocation itself is used in a somewhat offhand and unexplicated manner. The meaning of vocation is implied rather than stated directly, and the moral and critical resonance it conjures is treated as self-evident. This is unfortunate, not so much due to any inappropriateness in usage or lack of communicative clarity, but because a more extensive examination of the meaning of vocation provides such a wealth of insight into the very issues it is employed to address. The purpose of this paper is to "widen the gaze" on vocation in adult education by reporting on research I have recently been engaged in, examining the range of historical and current meanings of vocation as expressed in a variety of disciplinary and literary contexts. My exploration of the literature suggests that vocation is a vitally important term not only for critiquing the utilitarian ethos of the marketplace that so influences the dominant view of adult education, but also for understanding how this ethos came to *be* dominant in the first place, and how the critique and the dominant ethos are not as oppositional as they might first seem. This has important implications not only for the contested terrain of public policy but also for our own actions, motives, and choices as adult educators and learners. Following a broad overview of my gleanings from the literature, these implications will be addressed in the final section of this paper.

Historical Meanings of Vocation

The original meaning of vocation is connected to the Christian monastic tradition established in the Middle Ages. Derived from the Latin term *vocatio*, it refers to a call away from the world of productive activity in order to dedicate one's life to prayer and meditation (Applebaum, 1992; Hardy, 1990). The medieval view of vocation was a reflection of the wider sensibility of the times, where the *vita contemplativa* of monastic life was held in higher regard than the *vita activa* of productive working life (Arendt, 1958). Work was typically viewed more as necessary toil than as a worthwhile activity holding intrinsic value in its own right. In the monastic context, manual work was often a part of the daily routine; however, its worth was seen largely as an ascetic discipline for furthering one's contemplative capacity. Work as a source of personal satisfaction or material gain was a symptom of sinful pride, with strongly negative moral overtones (Beder, 2000; Ciulla, 2000).

According to many writers (Applebaum, 1992; Beder, 2000; Goldman, 1988), the idea of vocation, and the cognate term *calling*, underwent a drastic reversal during the Reformation, as it lost its sole association with the axis of monastic life and became more and more associated with the axis of work and worldly occupations. Martin Luther is often regarded as an influential catalyst in this shift (Beder, 2000; Bernstein, 1997). Luther, a monk himself, was highly critical of the institution of monasticism, which he claimed had become corrupted by those who chose a life of monastic devotion out of the selfish desire for personal salvation rather than out of any sense of dutiful purpose, genuine worship, or feeling of love towards one's fellow human beings. For Luther, a person's vocation or calling was expressed not by following a path apart from the world but "through humbly and cheerfully acquiescing to one's appointed station" (Bernstein, p. 37). Luther's significant accomplishment was to imbue the everyday work of ordinary workers with a positive moral value and to locate it within a larger cosmological framework of divine purpose.

Building on Luther's doctrine of the calling, the concept of vocation took yet another turn, as the world of work underwent several significant changes during the industrial revolution, the rise of the bourgeoisie, and the many related shifts in social structure, economic values, and world view that have taken place over recent centuries. During this period, work gradually came to be invested with the same lofty spiritual overtones that had once primarily been associated with the monastic turn away from work and worldly affairs. As expressed particularly in the works and teachings of John Calvin and Thomas Carlyle, work itself came to be seen as a form of religious duty – not simply through accepting one's unique place or station in the order of things, as with Luther, but through industrious diligence, *hard* work, and austere living. The purpose of work, for Calvin, was to actively reshape the world in the fashion of the divine kingdom, and through one's dedicated labours to prove oneself one of the Elect, "those persons chosen by God to inherit eternal life" (Hill, 1996, p. 4). This is the classic form of what is now commonly referred to as the Protestant work ethic.

The next significant reflection of the changing meaning of vocation comes in the sociological writings of Max Weber. The central premise of Weber's (1930) classic study, *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* is that the Protestant ideal of vocation, especially as expressed in the Calvinist view, became the spiritual ally that helped capitalism achieve its indomitable hegemonic status. According to Weber, the Calvinist notion of proving one's Elect status through work could best be demonstrated through material acquisition and the increase of profit. Thus, the earlier monastic and Lutheran view that working in order to accumulate wealth and profit was sinful gradually became supplanted by the view that it was, instead, the best proof of virtue and morality. This view, in turn, became drawn into a more secularly capitalist work paradigm where accumulation and consumption became the dominant vectors of the "life worth living." For Weber, this qualitatively different view of material gain as a virtue represented a serious crisis in the meaning of vocation, and in society at large. Greed, he pointed out, has always been with us; but the legitimization of greed as a foundational basis of personal and social worth was a whole new order of perception. He called for a return to an older ideal of vocation, reconnecting it to its earlier sense of service, if not to God, at least to a higher vision of social purpose (Weber, 1958a; 1958b).

Weber's alternative vision of vocation as a challenge to the dominant work paradigm has been echoed by other thinkers, artists, and writers of the same period and in subsequent generations (Goldman, 1988; Haynes, 1997). Goldman (1988) suggests that Weber's sociological work together with the literary work of Thomas Mann express the combined outer and inner history of vocation in 19th and early 20th century Germany and beyond. For Goldman, in stories and novels such as *Tonio Kröger* and *Buddenbrooks*, Mann portrays the struggle of the artist as a struggle to achieve the same ideal of the calling that Weber held up as a necessary alternative to the dominant norm -- a quest for "the right understanding and adherence to a calling" (p. 5), in resistance to the sterility and entrapment of the conventional structure of working life. Similar themes have also been traced in the fiction of George Eliot, among many others. According to Mintz (1978), in such novels as *Middlemarch* and *Daniel Deronda*, "Eliot endeavours to purge vocation of its contamination by capital" (p. 63). The counter-ideal of vocation, as portrayed by Eliot, involves finding one's true calling through asserting one's unique individuality quite apart from work, or through passionate commitment to a particular *work* (of art or social betterment), in opposition to the corrupting lure of worldy profit or self-advancement. In more recent literary expression, as reflected for instance in the fiction of James Joyce, the idea of vocation moves even further in this direction, where "the vocation of art" is established in "a new zone of freedom...[where] it becomes an unparalleled vehicle of transcendence" (Mintz, p. 178). In this view, all sense of the earlier religious and industrious connotations of vocation are cast aside, as organized religion and the marketplace both come to represent the twin structures of duty and authority which, at all costs, must be resisted.

Elements of all these meanings are evident in the multiple meanings of vocation at play in various contemporary usages of the term. Even a quick web search will show that vocation is still commonly used to refer to the idea of a calling to religious -- and specifically monastic -- life. It is also commonly used to convey the sense of taking one's place in the order of things; this, at least, might be one interpretation of vocation in the context of the vocational trades and vocational training, geared as they so explicitly are to fitting oneself into the dominant workforce structure (Emmet, 1958; Novak, 1996). The contrasting idea of vocation as a form of *rejection* of that same structure is also abundantly evident. For instance, vocation is often used to imply a form of resistance to the suspect goals of personal profit, career advancement, or social convention, achieved by committing oneself to a *life's work*, out of a sense of radical activism (Haynes, 1997), tradition and service (Bellah et al., 1985), or fulfillment of one's unique talents (Palmer, 2000). Consistent among these varied meanings, however, is a common connection between vocation and the ideal of the good life -- even though there is a range of interpretations of what actually *counts* as a good life, a good person, a good work.

Vocation in the Adult Education Context

Turning back to vocation in the adult education context, it is clear that the two related usages of vocation in the adult education literature take their place in a long socio-cultural history, and inherit a complex range of meanings and interpretations about work, worth, identity, and social purpose that stand in some tension with each other. It is interesting to note that both the "social purpose of the educator" (Collins/Martin) view, and the "ontological freedom of the learner" (Freire/Masschelein) view share a close alignment with the ideal of a renewed sense of vocation in response to a crisis of which, according to Weber at least, a debased sense of vocation has been a central cause. The critical connotations of vocation implied in the adult education literature resonate strongly with the meanings of "vocation as resistance" that have spring up since Weber; however, there is, by and large, an absence of acknowledgment of the undercurrent of shared ancestry that exists between the competing "capitalism as a calling" and "counter-capitalism as a calling" points of view.

On a related theme, it is also important to note that the meaning of vocation in the adult education literature also takes its place in a centuries-long trend towards a radically altered worldview in which occupational work as a source of worth, meaning, and identity comes to hold a central position. Although the meaning of vocation in the adult education context is not particularly associated with occupational work *per se*, it is situated within a wider landscape in which work has come to hold a particularly dominant set of associations with the realm of paid employment. Indeed the idea of work as *paid* work, work as job, has come to be the core sensibility around which all other meanings of work (and vocation) take their subordinate, often oppositional, place. As Pieper (1952) noted (half a century ago!) "the notion of work in its modern form, [has spread]...to cover and include the whole of human activity and even of human life" (p. 22). Thus, although the meanings of vocation in the adult education literature do not refer to occupational work exactly, they implicitly sound a note of dissent against the dominant "world of total work" paradigm in which non-economic work values (about, say, working for love rather than for money, or *work* as an act of self-expression or social conscience) come across as strange, seditious, naively romantic, or ridiculously unsupportable propositions. It is instructive to reflect, in light of these all-too-brief historical musings, on how long that note of dissent has been with us, how chronically necessary it has been, and how increasingly urgent it has become.

Implications for Adult Education Policy and Practice

Finally, what are the implications of all of this, when it comes to the "contested terrain of public policy" which is the central theme of this conference? And what, indeed, are the more direct implications for our choices, actions, and motives as adult educators and learners? Taking the question of public policy first, a consideration of the history of the meaning of vocation suggests the sobering view that the actual scope for genuine contestation is, in fact, limited even to the point of inarticulacy (Taylor, 1991). The dominant work paradigm is so all-encompassing, such a vast and total cosmos; that it brooks little if any opposition. The policy discourse about lifelong learning, for instance, is a good example. As Martin (1991) and others point out, the view of lifelong learning as "lifelong earning" has so totally eclipsed other views that they barely remain visible or viable at all. The alternative (lifelong learning as vocation) view has a small but vocal cheering section, but it is one that constantly must be *argued* for -- a tiny David, championed against a lumbering and dumbly omnipresent Goliath. The dominant discourse of public policy is, moreover, so totally a creation of the dominant work paradigm that, I would suggest, the only possibility for any fruitful contestation must come from other discourse communities altogether. It is not insignificant that the perspectives regarding the meaning of vocation I have found most illuminating in this analysis have come from the history of ideas, from philosophy, from fiction. To adapt the words of poet Dennis Lee (1995), "there are crucial possibilities for thinking which aren't available within [the language of public policy]" (p. 41). Other languages are sorely needed in order to articulate these possibilities with any depth or substance.

And so, at last, to our own actions, values, and choices as adult educators and learners. This is where the tangled roots of the meaning of vocation are so essential to understand. We are such creatures, ourselves, of the dominant work paradigm that even our most impassioned efforts to speak and act against it all too readily become bound up with the very forces and perspectives we are trying to challenge and change. Even the Collins/Martin view of vocation as social action, for instance, is infused with a kind of "work ethic" sensibility of moral worth derived from the inherent goodness of *action*, of striving for change, of putting in long hours working for the cause. Likewise, the Freire/Masschelein view might *articulate* an idea of vocation as a matter of simply becoming more fully human, but this requires political action for the oppressed, and soul searching for the privileged, with an urgency to *do* something -- to prove our being, to justify it -- in the form of busy deeds and virtuous labour. Perhaps what is most needed, in *this* site of contestation (the one within), is to draw insight from the contemplative context where vocation began -- in other words, to stop all this moiling (well-intended though it may be), and reclaim the value of inaction and stillness, the value of a wide margin, of copious amounts of unobligated time. Perhaps the only way *out* of the work paradigm isn't through more action but less, through taking the time to sit, sit long and quietly, "in eros, unknowing, and awe" (Lee, 1995, p. 43).

Perhaps. But *how?* (How, and not let the world come crashing down; how, and not lose our jobs, or lose ourselves in the gaping existential question of what there is of us, beneath all our doings, that actually remains)? This, I think, is the hardest and most essential question we face as adult educators and learners today. It is not a question of policy, but of practice, in our smallest actions, from moment to moment, day to day. Much depends on the answer, although there are no easy solutions readily to hand. We exist today, in the words of Anne Morrow Lindbergh, in a state of "torn-to-pieces-hood" (Doyle, n.d.) exacerbated by the non-stop driving engines of speed, change, and newness that propel the dominant work machine. Perhaps the most critical vocation of adult education, for both learners and educators alike, is to find the stillness we need -- the world needs -- to first sit in that brokenness, and then slowly, painfully, and carefully begin gathering the pieces together, one by one.

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Computer-Mediated Instruction: Beliefs of Practicing Adult Educators

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Abstract: Adult educators who use computer-mediated instruction are guided by beliefs that reflect a technical and instrumental use of this medium. Such practices fall short of technology's capacity to foster cognitive flexibility and complexity.

To address growing societal needs, educators are increasingly being asked to incorporate computer technology into their teaching (Office of Technology Assessment, 1995). Research on teaching with computers has primarily focused on teachers' conceptions of technology and its use in the classroom, how computers can be integrated into the classroom experience, and barriers to integration (e.g., Cuban, 1993; Ertmer, et. al., 2001; Hannafin & Savenye, 1993) and has focused primarily on settings where computers are used to supplement the instructional process. Computers, however, are increasingly being more fully integrated into the teaching of adults (a process we refer to as computer-mediated instruction), illustrated by contexts such as software-training workshops, sessions on conducting library searches, classes on computer-assisted drawing and graphic design, occupational education, and training in technology rich careers. But few studies in adult education have focused on computer-mediated instruction or how computers are used in these settings to promote learning and understanding.

We are beginning to realize how computer technology, as an instructional medium, can significantly influence our conceptions of knowing and learning (diSessa, 2000). Earlier applications of computers on teaching and learning were used largely to reinforce reproductive notions of knowledge. But, as computers become increasingly integral to the learning process, researchers are discovering that using computers in the learning process can foster more complex and flexible conceptions of knowledge among learners (Spiro, Feltovich, Jacobsen, & Coulsen, 1995). In essence, learners can learn to use computer technology to produce knowledge, rather merely reproduce pre-existing notions held by the teacher, the texts, and the society. Realization of this potential, however, depends largely on teachers' beliefs about technology and its role in the learning and teaching experience. For this reason, this study was undertaken to identify the beliefs that teachers of adults hold about the use of technology to foster learning and how computer technologies are used in their classroom practices.

Conceptual Framework

The overall research design and questions pursued in this study were informed by the theoretical frameworks of teacher beliefs, social constructivism, and cognitive flexibility. Teacher beliefs play a significant role in determining how we perceive, interpret and organize information (Schommer, 1990; Pratt & Associates, 1998). According to Pratt (Pratt & Associates, 1998), "beliefs and values are not minor, they are fundamental. They are the submerged 'bulk of the iceberg' upon which any particular [teaching] technique rest" (p. 16). Teacher beliefs are generally defined as propositions accepted as true by those holding the belief

(Richardson, 1996). Researchers stress the importance of developing a better understanding between the beliefs and actions of teachers. That is, what this technology means to teachers and how it comes to be used derives, in part, from the ways in which the teachers understand and interpret its presence within their particular instructional contexts. Teaching beliefs represent a powerful construct by which to better understand how adult educators make meaning of instructional technology (Chiou, 1995; Dwyer, Ringstaff, & Sandholtz, 1991; Knupfer, 1988; Lawless & Smith, 1997; Lawless, Smith, Kulikowich, & Owen, 2001).

Social constructivism suggests that human thinking develops through the mediation of others (Moll, 2001) and knowledge is *produced*, rather than merely acquired, through the interactions and relationships that are established among learners and between the learners and the teacher (Steffe & Gale, 1995). The nature of knowledge derived from learning through the use of computers reflects the dynamic and complex transaction between the technology and the learner. Some feel that computer technology offers the promise of transforming our conceptions of teaching and learning (diSessa, 2000), in part by fostering more complex and flexible conceptions of knowledge among learners.

Cognitive flexibility (Spiro, Feltovich, Jacobsen, & Coulsen, 1995) represents an approach to learning in which students demonstrate a capacity to hold differing and potentially contradictory notions of a given situation simultaneously within consciousness. These perspectives result in increasingly nuanced and complex understandings of the social world. The potential for computers to foster increased cognitive flexibility is most realizable in environments where technology is integral to the content or subject matter being taught. Learners are able to easily "criss-cross" the intellectual terrain of a given question or phenomenon, seeing it from multiple perspectives. Realization of this potential, however, depends on the educators' beliefs about teaching and how they think about computers and their role in learning. Therefore, in this study we sought to describe the teaching beliefs of adult educators in settings where computer technologies are considered central or integral to what is being taught.

Methodology

This study was guided by grounded theory, a well-known methodology used to generate or discover theories that are "drawn from data, are likely to offer insight, enhance understanding, and provide a meaningful guide to action" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 12). To give a rich accounting of the role of beliefs in a technology-laden classroom, a purposeful sample of eleven adult educators who taught in computer-mediated settings involving nontraditional students were selected. Participating teachers reflected several different settings of computer-mediated instruction, such as a bank tell trainer, a software instructor, a librarian, occupational educators, and a computer instructor for K-12 educators.

Data collection involved a number of definitive steps to ensure the veracity of the findings. First, a semi-structured interview was conducted with each teacher, focusing on their espoused teaching beliefs. After the initial interview, a video recording was completed of one teaching session of each participant, varying in length from 30 minutes to over three hours. These observations allowed the researcher to explore how the participants' espoused beliefs were reflected in practice. Following the observation, the initial interview was transcribed and then reviewed along with the video observation to identify classroom events that need further interpretation. Using the observation data, a second interview was arranged with each participant where the video recording of the selected teaching episodes was used in conjunction with the interview. This interview technique is referred as 'photo-elicitation or photo-interviewing, the use of photography as a medium for exploration into the personal and subjective experience (Tucker & Dempsey, 1991; Harper, 1994; Norman, 1991). In this particular case, the video recording allowed for the researchers and the participants to collaboratively explore how the participants make meaning of computer-mediated instruction.

Transcriptions of both interviews were analyzed using a constant comparative method (Strauss, 1998). The interviews were read and coded with a specific focus on the participants' beliefs about teaching and learning in a computer-mediated classroom. In addition, to enhance the trustworthiness of the findings multiple data sources were used along with both researchers coming together and jointly analyzing the data.

Findings

Five major themes emerged from the data, representing the teachers' beliefs about the role of the educator in computer-mediated settings: a) an appreciation for the complexities of adult learner's life contexts; b) learning as equated with ensuring comfort; c) knowledge as external to the learner; d) the teacher as a peripatetic instructor; and e) technology as classroom technique.

An Appreciation of the Adult Learner

Virtually all the teachers interviewed demonstrated a strong awareness of the adult learner and the complexities of their life contexts. They recognize that the adult student brings to the classroom other issues or barriers that can impede their learning. These issues have to be recognized and given some attention during the instructional experience. Joan states: "For adult students, the external baggage. [For example,] maybe they just had a fight with their spouse, or their boss said 'you will show up for this class,' and they come with an attitude that they don't want to be there. That's why during the very first class I let everybody just tell me whatever's on their mind." Eric recognizes the adult learner having "personal problems at home that can impede learning." In talking about her students, Janine, a spreadsheet and database instructor, recognizes the complexities that surround the motivation of her adult learners: "the older students [come to the community college] because they can't go any where else….they have a family or they have a job and they're coming here to update their skills, or to get a degree they always wished they had or the children are in school now all day so they have the opportunity to come." Absent from these various understandings of adult learners, however, is a deep sense of the role that technology plays in the learners' sense of identity or how technology is reflected in their learning strategies.

Learning as Ensuring Comfort

The teachers in this study reflected a belief that feeling comfortable was essential to learning, especially when it comes to the use of computers. Making sure that students were comfortable with computers and reducing fear and intimidation were seen as paramount for learning to take place. For example, Joan, a computer instructor for K-12 teachers, describes her primary goal: "To decrease intimidation with technology. . . Making people comfortable with it is usually the very first thing that I need to do." Another example is provided by Evan, an information management specialist, who states: "My number one goal as a teacher…that the student is comfortable enough that if…they don't retain what was just taught to them, that they know how to approach me….There are a lot of problems with retention…by that fear in technology so if I can reduce the tension." Denise, an administrator and teacher in a respiratory therapy program, suggests that the comfort levels of the students are importance influences on the nature of the teaching: "Everybody that walks in the classroom is not ready to be a self-directed learner. So we need to get to know what their comfort level is and gradually allow them more autonomy." Teachers understand technology-rich learning environments, and computer technology in particular, to be potentially anxiety-provoking. To learn anything, adult learners need to be made comfortable in these environments.

Knowledge as External to the Learner

The epistemological beliefs reflected by the teachers in this study suggest a view of knowledge as external to the learner. That is, they understand knowledge to be bounded, often residing in text, out there to be discovered, and imparted to the students by the teacher or some other authority. For example, Helen, a bank trainer, states: "Teaching means sharing knowledge. Of being able to communicate that knowledge." Jolene, an instructor of computer applications describes what she considers essential to her course. She states "We use two different textbooks …to cover the meat of the course…I give the students…a study guide that has a listing of questions that I feel are the most important aspects from the chapter." Anita, a teacher of computer-aided drawing, says, "We teach them how to draw a line on paper so that it is crisp and clean. It is other right or wrong, right?" Many occupational programs in which adult learners are enrolled are driven by external guidelines or standards that influence what the teachers teach. For example, in describing how she approaches the teaching of respiratory therapy, Wynetta says, "there are specific guidelines. This much material needs to be covered within the 15 weeks…you've got this booklet with a whole lot of information." The teachers in this study view knowledge as external to the learners, and technology is clearly tangential to conceptions of knowing, which stress the importance of acquiring "right" knowledge.

The Peripatetic Teacher

A peripatetic teacher refers to the location of the teacher in relationship to the student, but also the significance of moving around the classroom during the act of teaching. This approach to teaching, that of standing and walking around the classroom and checking on student's individual computers, seems to be both about control and as a way to promote a form of interaction between the teacher and student. Bob, a computer software instructor, describes his teaching approach:

> I'm working interactively with the computer and I kind of go from one topic and then go on to the next and I can change things on a screen and then I walk around…the room. I just talk to people and I look at their screens, if they've got it right or not got it right or so on. It's a whole interactive type thing…I can take care of problems as they arise.

Heather, a bank teller trainer, stands and walks behind the students as she teaches so she can see their computer screens. She explains: "Some of the [trainees] get happy fingers and they…want to play and they go off somewhere…If I stand back there I can see somebody going ahead…and its easy for me to keep track of them. Anita, who teaches computer aided design (CAD), describes her learning environment as a lecture lab. "After [the lecture] it's mostly lab where they're doing their projects and I'm kind of floating through the isles helping students, answering questions." The nature of this control and interaction seems to reflect the teachers' beliefs regarding what is to be known and how it comes to be known. It seems less about fostering flexibility or complexity and more about using technology to "get it right."

Technology as a Classroom Technique

Technology was seen by the teachers instrumentally in the sense of making learning easier, faster, or more interesting. For example, Anita, a CAD instructor, states that "with the electronic data it's quicker; it's more accurate…The speed and accuracy is increased incredibly… [And it is] just a different tool. That's the only difference [between manual drawing and CAD]." Michael, a computer electronics instructor, states: "The value of the computer simulation when you're doing it on the board is basically, if they don't get it after the first example, I can get another example up like that.. Basically, that's all it is. It's kind of like rote work…like flash cards." Janine, an accounting instructor, describes her use of technology as helping her "organize the material in a fun and creative way." She admits that she could do these things manually but the use of technology organizes the material better for the students. There was little evidence in the interviews or observations of the use of technology as a medium for promoting higher thinking skills or using it to construct one's one knowledge.

Discussion and Implications

One of the most promising aspects of computer-mediated instruction is its capacity to transform one's conceptions of what it means to know and how one knows (diSessa, 2000; Spiro, Feltovich, Jacobsen, & Coulsen, 1995). By exploiting its hypertext potential, teachers can help adults enhance their cognitive flexibility, develop more complex conceptions of knowledge, and encourage their sense of themselves as knowledge producers. Through the development of these capabilities, adults can also enhance their problem-solving, critical thinking, and learning-to-learn skills. Yet, for the most part, the teachers reflected transmission and reproduction views of teaching and learning (Pratt & Associates, 1998). Rather than using this technology to enhance the learners' appreciation for the uncertainty and complexity of knowledge, the teachers emphasized the need to create comfort in its use. This emphasis can inadvertently further reduce uncertainty and complexity, de-emphasizing a discovery and critical inquiry approach to learning. While the teachers stressed an impressive awareness of the needs of their learners, technology was largely used as a tool to reinforce mastery of predetermined objectives. By walking around the learning setting, the teachers maintained a high level of interaction with learners but such interactions seemed largely to monitor and control the learning process.

This study underscores the role that core beliefs play in teacher decision-making and classroom actions (Taylor, Dirkx, & Pratt, 2001). Like other educational innovations, teachers perceive the use of computer technology through these belief systems. The teachers' pre-existing beliefs served to shape the use of technology in reproducing and reinforcing pre-existing conceptions of knowledge and ways of learning. The constructivist, nonfoundationalist potential advocated for computer technology (Steffe & Gale, 1995) becomes muted under the pressure of the dominant foundationalist, teacher-centered, and transmission-oriented paradigm.

Professional development programs aimed at fostering more constructivist uses of computer technology need to attend to the apparent formidable role that beliefs play in shaping teachers' use of computer technology. Regular meetings and discussions among teachers, sustained over time (Clark, 2001), may be one of the most effective ways to foster a greater understanding of and appreciation for the transformative potential of computer technologies and, hence, transformation of teachers' existing epistemic belief structures.

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Les politiques éducatives pour contrer l'abandon
Que veulent les téléuniversitaires?

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En accord avec le thème de cette 21^e rencontre nationale de l'ACÉÉA et les visées de l'État en faveur de l'accès aux études supérieures et de la diplomation, nous avons examiné les transcriptions des entretiens dirigés menés à l'occasion de notre projet doctoral qui vise à décrire les facteurs d'ordre psychologique, pédagogique et environnemental de persévérance et d'abandon des études universitaires suivies à distance. Les 16 téléuniversitaires (T) rencontrées, 8 diplômées et 8 ayant abandonné, ont choisi la formation à distance pour se perfectionner, en s'inscrivant à l'un des deux certificats: Gérontologie (Université de Montréal) et Administration (Téluq). Les transcriptions ont suscité 689 énoncés dont l'analyse supporte notre étude dans le contexte spécifique de l'*autoformation assistée reliée au travail* (1). Cet article n'exploitera qu'un seul ordre de facteurs – pédagogique - à travers les données spécifiques à l'encadrement, recueillies grâce à quatre des dix-huit questions d'entretien. Quelles mesures souhaitent les T? Il ressort de notre étude que plusieurs attentes des téléuniversitaires envers leur programme et leur université demeurent sans voix. Les établissements universitaires leur feront-ils écho?

Éléments de contexte et enjeux de l'autoformation assistée

Notre recherche contribue à la réflexion institutionnelle sur l'encadrement à distance et à celle sur la persévérance qui sied aux priorités des universités et de l'État comme l'indiquent les contrats de performance qui lient l'État québécois et chaque établissement universitaire depuis 1995. Elle s'inscrit dans le domaine de l'éducation des adultes, sous le thème général de l'apprentissage et plus spécifiquement dans le courant des recherches du Canadien A. Tough (1971) qui confirmaient l'importance de l'apprentissage adulte dans le contexte de la vie de tous les jours et hors des institutions où il est habituellement cantonné, de la Canadienne N. A. Tremblay (1986) sur les besoins des autoformants hors institutions, et des travaux du Français J. Dumazedier (1995) pour qui l'autoformation apparaît comme un mode d'auto développement des connaissances et des compétences par le sujet social lui-même, selon son rythme, avec l'aide de ressources éducatives et de médiations le plus choisies possibles. Pour situer l'autoformation assistée, la situation éducative étudiée, nous prenons appui sur Candy (2) qui la définit comme s'enseigner (plutôt qu'être enseigné) mais où l'apprenant n'exerce pas le contrôle pédagogique (à la façon d'un autodidacte) puisque, dans la situation qui nous intéresse, les contenus sont décidés (formation universitaire livrée à distance).

L'adoption de politiques nationales favorables à la formation continue (3) constitue un pas important en faveur de la légitimité de l'autoformation (4) et la nouvelle conjoncture sociale met en évidence de nouveaux besoins éducatifs : La mission éducative ne se vit pas en vase clos. Le Québec couvre un vaste territoire inégalement pourvu de services éducatifs et le téléapprentissage (concept large englobant *formation distance* et *autoformation assistée*) (5) est vu comme une solution à *l'accessibilité* au sein des politiques éducatives des pays industrialisés (6), dont le Canada et ses provinces souveraines en matière d'éducation (7). La clientèle touchée annuellement par la formation à distance au Québec s'élève à environ 60 000 inscriptions-cours (8). Par contre, des études récentes montrent que le téléapprentissage ne résout pas tous les problèmes liés à l'accès et à la démocratisation du savoir (9). Actuellement, le rôle et les orientations des universités se redéfinissent et non seulement au Québec (10). Elles accueillent davantage d'adultes, d'origines et de cultures variées, qui étudient à temps partiel ou à temps plein, qui souhaitent diplômer, se perfectionner ou se distraire (11). La priorité éducative de l'État de hausser le taux de scolarisation aiguille dorénavant la mise en place de mesures d'encadrement favorables à la réussite dans le contexte de la diminution de ressources (12). Le téléapprentissage, souvent vu comme solution aux coûts d'éducation, est en essor à l'échelle mondiale (13). Mais il connaît des écueils (14) dont un constat de carence dans la prise en charge de l'encadrement (15) alors que le taux d'abandon à distance est plus élevé qu'en institution (16) (17).

Type de recherche et méthodologie

Nous ne cherchons pas à établir de liens entre les facteurs (descriptive-corrélationnelle) mais « la découverte de facteurs qui consiste à décrire, nommer ou caractériser un phénomène, une situation ou un événement, de manière à le rendre familier. Cela correspond à la recherche exploratoire-descriptive » (18). Pour la cueillette, nous avons choisi l'entretien dirigé pour recueillir une partie du matériel pour répondre à notre question de recherche, soit leur énoncé des facteurs de persévérance et d'abandon. Il s'agit de données suscitées selon la description qu'en fait Van der Maren (19). Dix-huit questions ont guidé nos entretiens avec des professionnelles occupant un emploi en lien avec leur certificat d'études : Administration ou Gérontologie. Les verbatim, transcris au plus près de la parole et codés, ont suscité 689 énoncés. Outre l'entretien, chacune a complété deux tests auto-administrés dont nous ne traitons pas ici. Outre ces sources, nous avons rencontré des responsables de l'encadrement des deux universités.

La persévérance ayant son corollaire, l'abandon, outre des diplômées entre janvier 1998 et janvier 2001, nous avons recruté des travailleuses ne s'étant pas réinscrites depuis au moins 12 mois. Il s'agit d'un échantillon accidentel qui se divise en quadrant : 4 diplômées en Gérontologie; 4 diplômées en administration; 4 non réinscrites en Gérontologie; 4 non réinscrites en Administration. Ces deux programmes furent choisis parce qu'offerts entièrement à distance - au regard des enjeux que représentent pour l'État *l'accessibilité* aux études supérieures, en raison de leur potentiel de *perfectionnement* - au regard de l'obsolescence rapide des compétences et des défis que pose la formation continue aux entreprises et aux travailleurs, et parce que leur *médiation* diffère – l'un est livré en *mode papier* et l'autre est *assisté par ordinateur* - au regard de l'essor des TIC dans la médiation de la formation à distance.

Le recrutement d' « absentes »

Rencontrer des étudiantes à distance est un défi. Et outre qu'elles étudient à distance, celles que nous voulions rencontrer n'étaient plus actives dans un programme parce qu'elles avaient soit déjà diplômé ou abandonné depuis plus de 12 mois - ce n'est pas comme administrer un test à des élèves dans une classe. Pour prendre en compte les caractéristiques espérées, nous avons adapté le recrutement aux particularités des apprenantes, des programmes et des établissements. Pour recruter celles ayant étudié en Administration, nous avons multiplié les appels aux professeurs, logé une invitation dans une revue électronique (le *Sans Papier*) et posté une lettre signée par la direction de la recherche de la Téluq en vue de recruter des ex-étudiantes montréalaises qui considéraient leur certificat en lien avec leur travail alors qu'elles y étudiaient. Quarante travailleuses se sont manifestées librement, dont 10 ayant abandonné ce certificat. Ensuite, pour recruter celles en Gérontologie (Université de Montréal) nous avons obtenu une liste de laquelle nous avons extrait les diplômés récents (N=353) et ceux ayant abandonné depuis au moins 12 mois (N=181). La motivation à *étudier à distance* est l'une de nos préoccupations de recherche. À cet égard, nous n'avons retenu que les personnes dont le code postal débute par H1 à H4 (région 06, Montréal). Pourquoi étudier à distance lorsqu'on habite près des universités? Au terme de ce déblayage, il restait 99 diplômés et 50 ayant abandonné Gérontologie. Comme nous ne rencontrons que des femmes, l'accès des femmes aux études supérieures étant un acquis fragile (20), c'est jugeant des prénoms, lorsque c'était évident, que nous avons éliminé 26 autres personnes. Le bassin en Gérontologie était de 82 diplômées et 41 ayant abandonné. Toutes ont été invitées par téléphone et comme les numéros de 7 diplômées et de 12 ayant abandonné étaient erronés, nous souhaitions convaincre un nombre maximum parmi les résiduelles, 65 diplômées et les 29 ayant abandonné, à venir nous rencontrer au LICEF (21) au moment de leur choix. La moitié de l'échantillon, apprenions-nous, étudie à distance «pour éviter le déplacement à l'Université»… les convaincre de nous y rencontrer ne fut pas une mince affaire. Outre les difficultés à accéder aux T auprès des établissements, les numéros de téléphone erronés, les appels non retournés et les refus, c'est potentiellement 19 travailleuses ayant diplômé et 19 ayant abandonné que nous pourrions rencontrer. Sans égard au programme ou à l'établissement, la période estivale n'aidant pas et malgré un rappel téléphonique la veille des rencontres, la majorité s'est désistée obligeant la constante restauration du calendrier de rencontres. Puis une grève des enseignants, au moment de rencontrer celles ayant charge d'enfants... Nous n'avons toutefois pas délaissé le projet de rencontrer celles ayant abandonné ou ayant charge d'enfants et leurs points de vue est un apport original à cette étude quoiqu'il s'agisse de données ponctuelles cueillies à l'aide de rencontres de 60 minutes.

Quelques considérations conceptuelles

Tremblay (1986) définissait l'autoformation comme un processus dans lequel l'individu prend l'initiative, avec ou sans l'aide d'un autre, de diagnostiquer ses besoins d'apprentissage, de formuler ses objectifs d'apprentissage, d'identifier les ressources humaines et matérielles dont il aura besoin, de choisir et de mettre à exécution les stratégies et d'évaluer les performances. Son corrolaire est l'hétéroformation. Outre à ce concept émergent qu'est l'autoformation (22), nous référons à la persévérance pour décrire une situation où l'apprenant poursuit le programme d'études auquel il s'est inscrit pour éventuellement en diplômer (*Règlements universitaires*) et nous considérons comme ayant abandonné, ceux n'ayant pas complété le programme et qui ne se sont pas réinscrites depuis au moins 12 mois. Notre nomenclature des ordres de facteurs s'inspire des raisons du choix autodidactique de Bouchard (23). Le classement et le codage des 689 énoncés génériques se sont effectués sous trois ordres de facteurs : ceux d'ordre *psychologique* groupent les énoncés afférents aux caractéristiques, préférences ou comportements d'apprentissage des apprenantes qui réussissent ou qui abandonnent; ceux d'ordre *environnemental* groupent les caractéristiques, autres que scolaires, de l'environnement personnel, professionnel ou social affectant l'apprenante; et spécifiquement en lien avec ce texte, ceux d'ordre *pédagogique* groupent les éléments qui relèvent de l'Université ou sur lesquels elle peut agir. Par exemple, pour favoriser la persévérance, quoique l'Université ne puisse agir sur l'horaire de travail de soir d'une apprenante, elle peut offrir du tutorat à d'autres moments que le soir et autrement qu'en présence. Par ailleurs, nous désignons par *encadrement* les diverses mesures institutionnelles qui visent à augmenter le taux de diplomation (24) (25). Une mesure d'encadrement vise à soutenir, guider, conseiller et assister un étudiant dans ses activités universitaires, non pas seulement dans les seuls cadres de sa formation académique et de sa recherche, mais également dans l'élaboration de ses objectifs professionnels et dans l'élaboration de sa carrière. Nous avons examiné les mesures souhaitées au regard de celles prévues par la Formation à distance de l'Université de Montréal (26) et la Téluq (27). Notre cadre tient compte des besoins des autoformants (Tremblay, 1986) et des téléapprenants (28) (29). Dans les écrits spécifiques aux domaines de l'autoformation et de la formation à distance, nous avons noté l'aspect pluriel des notions *distance*, *autonomie* et *contrôle*. L'autonomie est importante pour l'adulte (30) et constitue une caractéristique du mode d'apprentissage à distance (31).

Facteurs d'ordre pédagogique : quelques résultats

Voici quelques faits saillants des résultats de la compilation des énoncés suscités par 4, des 18 questions d'entretien. Invitées à discourir sur le *support offert par l'université* (Question PÉD2.3), 6 mentionnent ne jamais avoir été aidée par l'université lors des moments difficiles ou de baisse de motivation aux études. Pour 7 personnes sur 16, le coup de pouce est survenu de la part de proches ou de collègues. Sans égard à l'établissement, 8 participantes n'ont pas fait appel aux tuteurs, nombre auquel s'ajoutent 5 autres participantes qui déplorent l'incompatibilité de la disponibilité des tuteurs d'avec leur horaire de travail : longues heures pour les administratrices ou travail de soir pour les infirmières.

Pour ce qui est de la *connaissance des mesures* (Q PÉD3.2), quoique les services offerts soient publicisés lors des envois de cours par les établissements, une diplômée n'a pu nommer aucune des mesures offertes alors que 8 mentionnent les tuteurs et 7, le téléphone, dont trois associent le téléphone au tuteur. Le site Internet est vu comme une mesure par 4 T de la Téluq, toutes ajoutent qu'il était hors d'usage au moment où elles l'ont visité. Les bibliothèques de l'Université de Montréal sont mentionnées par 4 des 8 étudiantes de l'UdeM, alors qu'aucune de la Téluq ne fait état de celles du réseau de l'Université du Québec auquel appartient la Téluq. Les T de la Téluq voient l'appel conférence comme une mesure, service qui n'est pas offert aux T de l'Université de Montréal et qui n'est d'ailleurs pas relevé par ses T. Pour ce qui est du «tutorat par courriel», soulevé par 3 T de la Téluq (aucune en gérontologie pour les mêmes raisons), elles déplorent le délai de réponse. Mentionnons finalement qu'une diplômée voit en la «collation des grades» une mesure favorisant la persévérance, mais regrette ne pas y avoir été invitée et attribue cet état de choses au fait qu'elle étudiait à distance.

Pour ce qui est de *l'utilité perçue des mesures* offertes par leur université (Q PÉD3.3), une n'y voit pas d'utilité, 6 n'ont pas d'opinion, 3 les considèrent utiles et 3 autres disent qu'elles seraient utiles « si les services fonctionnaient ». En parallèle, nous leur avons demandé quelles mesures les universités pourraient déployer (Q PÉD3.4). Leurs souhaits sont nombreux incluant l'évaluation de la qualité du français avant l'admission, la reconnaissance des acquis au moment de l'inscription, une pédagogie adaptée à la formation à distance, du matériel de qualité, des services d'orientation, l'adoption d'une méthodologie de présentation des travaux univoque pour l'ensemble des tuteurs et des étudiants, etc. Unanimement, les T en Gérontologie veulent une plus grande offre de cours, souhait qui n'a pas été exprimé par les étudiantes de la Téluq.

Sans égard à l'université d'attache, le tutorat est le sujet ayant généré le plus d'énoncés (109/689) sans égard à l'université et au programme et sans qu'il soit l'objet d'une question d'entretien. Les T veulent des tuteurs disponibles (horaire), disposés (attitude) et compétents, qu'on les téléphone au début du cours puis régulièrement et réclament un feedback rapide et complet sur les travaux. Par contre et unanimement, les T soulignent la qualité du matériel et la clarté des consignes transmises au moment de l'inscription ou de la réinscription.

Conclusion

De façon générale, la nature même de *l'autoformation assistée* (contrôle de l'horaire, du rythme et du lieu de formation par l'apprenant, mais pas du contenu pédagogique) est un facteur qui favorise le choix de cette situation éducative par les travailleuses souhaitant se perfectionner. Tout comme nos prédécesseurs, nous faisons face à la complexité des phénomènes de la persévérance et de l'abandon. Les établissements de formation à distance ne sauraient être imputables de l'ensemble des facteurs significatifs pouvant contrer l'abandon. Par contre, hormis les obstacles inéluctables ou d'aptitudes, l'examen des facteurs d'ordre pédagogique, l'un des trois ordres de facteurs que nous avons étudiés, met au jour l'encadrement que souhaitent les T. Spécifiquement en lien avec les facteurs pédagogiques énoncés, nous remarquons que les mesures souhaitées par les T font déjà l'objet d'attentions de la part des établissements qui offrent déjà du tutorat, des services d'information et d'orientation, etc. Pourquoi ces services ne sont-ils pas utilisés au meilleur de leur raison d'être par ces T? Comment expliquer leur perception de l'encadrement? Les universités feront-elles écho aux souhaits des téléuniversitaires? Et si oui, rien n'indique que des correctifs contreraient l'abandon. Bertrand, Demers et Dion (32) remarquaient, suite à l'expérimentation d'un programme d'accueil à la Téluq, que « L'intervention précoce des conseillers ne semble pas avoir produit l'effet désiré sur la persévérance des étudiants contactés. Pourtant, les personnes qui ont bénéficié du programme s'en déclarent très majoritairement satisfaites ».

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If You Knew Now What We Didn't Know Then: A Comparative Analysis of Evaluation Findings with Implications for Program Planning Theory

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Abstract: Evaluations of multiple adult education programs delivered in diverse settings provide opportunities for hypothesis generation and for comparative analysis of the findings. This research draws on ten evaluation case studies in order to contribute to program planning theory through a better understanding of what works for whom, under what circumstances and why.

Hindsight and Foresight: Two Perspectives on Improving Programs

Program planning and evaluation and are two distinct fields of practice in adult education with an overlapping concern: ensuring the offering of "successful" programs for adult learners, with "success" being defined in a variety of ways. While the field of program planning emphasizes foresight, and evaluation typically builds recommendations through hindsight (i.e., summative evaluation), both are dedicated to improving programs through understanding.

The two fields can also be seen as overlapping through a yin-yang type of relationship, whereby normative models within each typically call for consideration of the other as a step along the way. For example, Sork and Buskey (1986) carried out an extensive review of the program planning literature, which is still frequently referenced today, and synthesized the steps mentioned in the various normative models into one generic planning model. Included in the list of steps is "design of a plan for evaluating the program" (p.89). As well, planning models usually include a feedback loop from evaluation into program re-design.

In the evaluation literature, there is a parallel situation with evaluation models frequently prescribing an understanding of the planning environment as part of the investigation and with mentions of evaluation looping back into planning decisions and affecting program priorities. Shadish, Cook, and Leviton (1991) point out that "evaluations can change internal program priorities, affecting service mix and manner of provision, preferred targets, and enforcement of regulations....We know little about how often, and under what conditions, evaluation results lead to such changes in internal program priorities" (pp.448-449).

In addition to this gap in knowledge around evaluation connections with program re-design, there is also inadequate attention paid to evaluation findings in the program planning literature. With the exception of the research spearheaded by Sork (1991) calling for inductively-derived program planning theory, planning guidelines are typically presented without drawing on actual evaluation findings. This study is an attempt to bridge this gap through a comparative analysis of multiple evaluation case studies and through hypothesis generation around what works for whom, under what circumstances and why.

Literature Review: Planning, Context, and Consequence

The process of program planning has been addressed in the adult education literature in two ways: (1) through normative models which are based in the author's idealized notion of how program planning should occur (e.g., Boyle, 1981; Boone, 1985; Caffarella, 1994); and (2) through descriptive models which are based on case studies and related research into how program planning does occur in particular contexts (e.g., Burnham, 1984; Mabry & Wilson, 2001).

While normative models have helped raise important issues (e.g., what should the role of the planner be?) and have upheld certain "principles" of adult education (e.g., programs should be based on client needs), they have been criticized for their lack of applicability to practice settings. According to Brookfield (1986), the planning guidelines put forth by the normative models are typically based on an assumption that planning can take place in an idealized world free from personality conflicts, resource constraints or political influences. This assumption has exacerbated the disjuncture between theory and practice and has decreased the utility of the normative models. As Kowalski (1988) points out, practitioners have "become dismayed with textbook approaches which simply fail to produce effective results in the real world" (p.46).

The diversity of settings offering adult education programs makes consistent application of one model especially difficult (Boone, 1985). Even within settings, the uniqueness of a given situation means that the application of a particular normative model will not always be the same or the best choice. Boyle (1981) emphasizes that the process of planning is "dynamic and constantly being adapted to the actual situation" (p.51). Indeed, Mabry and Wilson (2001) found in a recent study that program planners' strategic actions varied according to the specific context and their perceptions of stakeholder involvement.

Normative models typically represent planning as a series of steps or phases to be followed sequentially. This makes the underlying logic of planning explicit, simplifies the planning tasks, and provides systematic guidance and a sense of security to planners (Kowalski, 1988; Sork & Caffarella, 1989). However, many of the authors of normative models also recognize that the linear steps may actually be simultaneous, recurring, or out of sequence when applied to practice situations in context (Houle, 1972; Boyle, 1981; Sork & Caffarella, 1989).

Although "context" is described in the program planning literature in many ways, all would agree that the effect of the context on planning is something that should be taken into account, both in the planning process itself (as a first step) and in any attempt to theorize about program planning. Understanding the relationship between the context and the planning process is important because "the organizational environment of planning will substantially influence the reception, appreciation, and effectiveness of the planner's work" (Forester, 1989, p.67). It is also important from the point of view of theory building. Because planning is a complex situational activity, planning theory has to address the "contextual circumstances confronted by practitioners" (Sork & Caffarella, 1989, p.238) in order to be useful and applicable.

A review of the literature on program planning in adult education revealed a wide variety of approaches to planning and also showed that while there is a great deal of overlap in how planning is defined in adult education, there is no single definition that contains all the aspects of planning mentioned and that captures the complexities of the process in a clear and elegant manner. Planning is conceptualized in the following ways: as a complex of interacting elements (Houle, 1972); as administration (Kowalski, 1989); as the interplay of values (Boyle, 1981); as strategic interfacing (Boone, 1985); as the negotiation of interests (Cervero & Wilson, 1996); as dialogue (Freidmann, 1973); as problem-solving (Boothroyd, 1986); and finally as attention shaping (Forester, 1989). These metaphors for planning are not necessarily mutually exclusive; they provide us with complementary and often overlapping ways of looking at the process of planning.

Sork (1991) has provided us with another way of viewing planning and the consequences of planning efforts: focus on failure - learn from the failures of others and from our own failures as well.

> When we set out to plan an educational event we usually do so with the intention of changing human capabilities in some way….sometimes our efforts to change human capabilities are successful, sometimes they are not, and sometimes they are a little bit of both….Accepting the inevitability of occasional failure is difficult in a society that values achievement and success. But regarding failure as a wonderful opportunity to learn about and improve the work that we do may encourage more systematic exploration of the reasons for and consequences of failure in adult and continuing education (pp.5-6).

This research does not focus exclusively on failures or successes, but instead presents evaluation findings that are a little bit of both. This research is, however, inspired by Sork's concern for learning from evaluation in order to inductively build planning theory.

The literature review also investigated the relationship between the planning process and the context. A cumulative list of all the aspects of context mentioned in the adult education literature as having an effect on the planning process and outcomes of planning is as follows: *individual factors* (planner's role, personal attributes, values, decision-making skills, awareness of the context, and bounded rationality); *program factors* (program type, goals, and logistics); *organizational factors* (mission, history, philosophical orientations, priorities, ethos, structure, resources, administration, policies, recruitment practices, staff training, budgets, interactions among members, personality conflicts, and power relations); and, *environmental factors* (relationships with external funders, community dynamics, socio-cultural characteristics of learners, pressure groups, and societal needs and laws). This unwieldy list reveals the wide variety of interpretations of "context" within the adult education program planning literature. While it is generally agreed that context affects planning and that planning affects outcomes, the mechanisms for these influences are not yet fully understood.

Analytic Framework – Realistic Evaluation

Realistic evaluation, a recent development in evaluation theory articulated by Pawson and Tilley (1997), provides a useful analytic framework for understanding contexts, mechanisms and outcomes. Using a realistic evaluation approach to analyze and compare findings from multiple evaluation case studies, it becomes possible to 1) draw out observations that are puzzling or intriguing; 2) generate hypotheses based on these observations, concerning the contexts, mechanisms, and outcomes of the various adult education programs; and 3) consider the implications of the hypotheses for adult education program planning theory. "The common thread running through the [realistic evaluation] designs is to produce ever more detailed answers to the question of *why* a program works for *whom* and in *what* circumstances" (Pawson & Tilley, 1997. pp.xv-xvi).

Insight through Comparative Analysis

Evaluations of multiple adult education programs delivered in diverse settings provide opportunities for hypothesis generation and for comparative analysis of the findings. The Evaluation Unit housed within Continuing Studies at Simon Fraser University is in an excellent position to carry out a comparative analysis of the various evaluation projects designed and implemented through the Unit. This research draws on multiple evaluation case studies conducted by the Evaluation Unit over the last three years. The settings for the adult education programs evaluated include: a crown corporation, non-profit organizations, municipal and provincial governments, a university academic department, continuing studies program area, and a community development organization. The evaluations used a variety of techniques allowing for collaborative and comprehensive research.

The table presents the comparative analysis organized around the principle that contexts and mechanisms together produce outcomes. The contexts are categorized by individual, program, organizational and environmental factors, similar to the categories of "context" in the planning literature. Each row can be interpreted as a hypothesis that can be used to guide program planning activities or to be tested through future evaluations. Hypotheses are statements of the expected relationship among variables and as such, are tentative predictions of expected outcomes based on theory or observable evidence. As provisional conjectures, hypotheses can assist in guiding planning or in focusing attention during the evaluation of programs.

A comparative analysis of one set of evaluations conducted by a particular evaluation team is only a small step toward building inductively-derived planning theory. Hopefully, this small step will incite other to take similar small steps leading towards an "accumulation of results and a convergence of understanding" (Pawson and Tilley, 1997, p. xvi).

Contexts	+ Mechanisms	= Outcomes
Individual Factors		
Participants receptive and enthusiastic about program; feel able to influence future	Focus on what is perceived as "useful" by participants; create a more gender-balanced group; involve senior management	High levels of satisfaction; confidence gained; plans made and implemented for transferring learning
Participants cynical and resistant; fractured and feeling helpless	Focus on what is perceived as "interesting" by participants; homogeneous group (age and gender)	Pockets of satisfaction; feelings of uncertainty and lack of individual agency increased; participants put emphasis on obstacles
Program Factors		
Excess demand for enrollment in the program	Clarify expectations and workload; create a sense of opportunity in the here and now	High program profile; high stakes in terms of attention from funders; program on hold due to bigger agendas
Enrollment shrinking	Increased pressure on current participants to be ambassadors; risk-taking in program design	Instructors and Board over-hauled to ensure common approach and renewed vision; program on upswing

Contexts	+ Mechanisms	= Outcomes
Organizational Factors		
Mission-driven organization	Educational programming examined in light of mission which is open to various interpretations	New large-scale programs given priority over successful small-scale programs
Cost-driven organization	Educational programming subjected to market analysis and justified through numbers	Corners cut on instructional materials and program suffers through perceptions of disorganization
Environmental Factors		
Expanding resources; increasing investment and support	Additional roll-outs planned without absorbing evaluation findings	Program eventually cancelled and partnerships disbanded
Shrinking resources; environment of restraint and cutbacks	Additional roll-outs on hold; emphasis given to evaluation findings	Program to be expanded strategically; partnerships strengthened

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Career Development and Advancement Patterns of Aboriginal Executives in the Canada Federal Public Service

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Abstract: The research examined the career development and advancement patterns of Aboriginal executives in Canada's Federal Public Service to determine whether such factors as development opportunities, job assignments, education levels, mentoring, leadership experience, and networking increase the advancement of Aboriginal People to the executive category within the Canadian Federal Public Service.

The majority of senior positions of power and authority continue to be occupied by white males in many of today's organizations (International Personnel Management Association, 1990; Weschler, 1994), and in few places is this more evident than in the executive category of the Canadian Federal Public Service (CFPS) (Public Service Commission of Canada, 2001; Treasury Board of Canada, 2000). Despite substantial efforts by government departments to eliminate roadblocks to career development and to foster the advancement of Aboriginal People into the CFPS executive category, the share of executive appointments to the Public Service for Aboriginal People continues to be disproportionate. Among the four designated groups (women, persons in a visible minority, and persons with disabilities, and Aboriginal People) identified under Canadian Employment Equity Provisions, Aboriginal People are, in more than 60 federal departments, agencies, and commissions for which the Treasury Board is the employer, the furthest from reaching proportional executive category representation.

Many current and former Aboriginal employees frequently comment on the difficulties faced in adapting to the Public Service. For example, *The Report of The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples: Restructuring The Relationship Volume 2* (The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996, p. 937) notes many instances of difficulty among Aboriginal Peoples attempting to adapt to the public service:

> How was I [an Aboriginal] supposed to deal with a manager and a system that continually sought to treat me as a child? I have both a Bachelor's and Master's degree, and their tactics included requests that I submit all of my calculations for verification by a supervisor, ostensibly because they couldn't be sure my totals were correct. No other person among my forty-three co-workers was required to do this. They told me that my work was being checked because I grew up on a reserve where nobody learned to add properly.

According to Jetté (1994), the real reason for ineffective career development and limited advancement among Aboriginal People stems from barriers of a character different from those faced by other designated group members. Yet, despite these barriers, there is a cadre of Aboriginal executives within the Public Service. How is it that, within the government's current executive complement there are Aboriginal executives who have been able to demonstrate their abilities and skills as capable bureaucrats while overcoming discriminatory barriers, and advance within the Public Service to the executive category?

The study of careers and how they develop is one of the most active areas of inquiry in the social sciences. Educators, sociologists, economists, and human resource practitioners are all trying to understand how an individual selects, works within, and makes decisions to change the focus of his or her working life. The literature is replete with numerous theories of career development such as Miles and Snow's Trait and Factor Theory, Holland's Typology, Roe's Need Theory, and Super's Developmental Theory. These theories; however, reflect a traditional focus on white college students and middle class professionals (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1994). Although there has been a slow but steady increase in the research pertaining to the career development and advancement patterns of designated group members, Aboriginal People have been much ignored by career development theorists and researchers (Johnson, Swartz, & Martin, 1996). Research studies conducted by James et al, 1995; Johnson et al, 1996; and Lenton (1979) represent some of the very few exceptions.

While most research on career development and advancement patterns in the CFPS has focused on discriminatory practices affecting designated groups (Abella, 1984; Public Service Alliance of Canada, 1996; Samuel, 1991; Samuel and Karam, 1996), there are other possible influences, which are not well understood. To explore the multi-dimensional issues of career development and advancement of Aboriginal executives in a public sector milieu, a study was designed to investigate whether or not such factors as developmental opportunities, job assignments, education levels, training, mentoring, leadership experience, and networking increased the career development and advancement potential of Aboriginal People to the executive category within the CFPS.

Methodology

The study used multiple lines of evidence including a literature review, a biographical analysis based on a mailed survey, in-depth personal interviews, reviews of (CFPS) internal executive recruitment / competition notices; career development and advancement materials; and other reports to gather information from a geographically dispersed population of Aboriginal executives in the CFPS. The research examined whether or not developmental opportunities, job assignments, education levels, training, mentoring, leadership experience, and networking were prominent factors. To control bias, and ensure consistency participants mailed completed questionnaires to an independent consultant who also tabulated the data; interview questions were presented neutrally with the same explanation and in the same order; and interview sessions were tape recorded so that the accuracy of responses could be verified.

Sample Frame and Definition of Aboriginal People

For employment purposes within the CFPS, Aboriginal Peoples are provided with an opportunity to self-identify as Status (persons registered under Indian Act), Non status (aboriginal persons not registered under the Indian Act), Métis (those of mixed Indian and other origin), or Inuit (persons north of 60th parallel). The CFPS considers Aboriginal Peoples as one group statistically; hence the sample population does not distinguish among those groups, although many other studies do. The sample for the study consisted of 55 individuals, with a response rate of fifty four percent.

Key Findings

Some common themes emerged regarding the factors Aboriginal executives consider important for career development and executive advancement. The results also add interesting information to the emerging knowledge base on career development and advancement patterns concerning various racial groups.

First, the findings of the study suggest that the specific factors ranked by Aboriginal executives within the CFPS as important for career development and advancement potential were: leadership experience; education and job assignments. They also stressed training as a major factor.

Secondly; selection criteria used by Public Service Internal Executive Recruitment Notices required potential candidates to possess an undergraduate degree; sought candidates who could demonstrate networking ability; and sought individuals with extensive leadership experience.

Thirdly, the most prominent factors identified by Duxbury, Dyke, and Lam (1998) in their landmark study (breadth of knowledge (high mobility, lateral moves and acting / stretch assignments; increased visibility; and mentoring) were not perceived by the majority of Aboriginal executives as important or relevant for career development or advancement with the public sector.

Finally, themes, which emerged from the analysis of La Relève documentation, revealed that both public sector central agencies and departments have well entrenched initiatives, which recruit and develop individuals with leadership potential. However, the La Relève documentation also indicated the specific utilization of developmental assignments and programs, increased networking opportunities, mentoring and coaching initiatives to progressively develop a cadre of individuals with depth, breadth, and scope of leadership experience was well pronounced and utilized throughout the public service.

From an organizational perspective, it appears that successful career advancement strategies in the CFPS include: building depth, breadth, and scope of professional experience; networking with senior management; utilizing development opportunities and job assignments; and acquiring a mentor.

Discussion and Implications

The study discovered a variety of perspectives regarding the factors, which have influenced the career development and advancement patterns of Aboriginal executives in Canada's Federal Public Service.

This study found that Aboriginal executives in Canada's Federal Public Service have different perceptions regarding the value of developmental opportunities, job assignments, mentoring and networking as effective strategies for increasing their career development and advancement potential. According to researchers Badwound and Tierney (1988); James et al. (1995); and Sanders (1987) educational, economic, and work experience influence socio-cultural values and attitudes and thus may explain why Aboriginal public service executives perceive and view opportunities that provided leadership experience; training and increased education qualifications accelerate the likelihood of advancement within the CFPS.

In fact, there are many studies that show culturally based values and norms can create conflicts for Aboriginal individuals working in organizations where Western values and norms dominate. For example, Wares et al. (1992) found that Aboriginal individuals tend to be unwilling to praise their own skills or accomplishments; which in turn, can have negative implications for Aboriginal individuals seeking career advancement in organizations where touting one's own accomplishments is the norm. Researchers Burke and McKeen (1992) and Thomas (1990) have suggested that non-Aboriginal mentors may not provide effective psychological support for Aboriginal individuals due to differences in culturally based values and norms. Research conducted by Tupahache (1986) indicated that differences in "white" and "Aboriginal" leadership styles and norms might also be a cultural source of difficulty. Tupahache (1986) points out "aggressive assertion of leadership is not accepted within many Indian tribes" (p. 47). Tupahache also notes that "Aboriginal leaders are expected to serve as examples, to seek not personal power or status but the common good, and to reach decisions by consensus" (p. 48). Thus, Aboriginal Peoples working in an environment where individualism, interpersonal competition, and other such embraced norms and values may experience stress and conflict. Consequently, Aboriginal individuals working in mainstream organizations are often caught in a vise of pressures that are incompatible with their own views and values.

However, despite the negative impact of culturally based values and norms on Aboriginal Peoples, the flexibility demonstrated by Aboriginal individuals to adapt to public service organizational culture has led to some positive changes. For example, cultural values concerning education have helped to foster changes in attitudes toward higher education by Aboriginal Peoples. According to Sanders (1987) figures from the Educational Testing Service indicates encouraging levels of educational attainment and success among Indians. Sanders denotes that "Indian Peoples understand the linkage between improved educational success and opportunity" (p. 84). As well, Canadian federal departments have actively promoted cultural diversity programs and sensitivity training as a means of educating its staff on the diverse and rich culture of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples and its cultural orientation toward such values as cooperativeness; group cohesiveness; and consensus-based style of leadership.

Conclusion

There are many challenges and issues facing Aboriginal public sector employees. As well, the role public sector organizations play in tailoring and formulating career advancement policies and programs in the public sector toward Aboriginal People must change if they are to be effective.

Alternative ways to approach career development and advancement for Aboriginal People in a public service environment need to be developed. These new approaches need to be broader in focus, employee-centered, and collaborative. These approaches must advance the personal development and growth of Aboriginal individuals as opposed to the narrow focus of the organizational paradigm, which is concerned with very specific pre-determined organizational objectives.

This study lays the foundation for future investigations because very little research of this nature presently exists in the career development literature. Many questions remain. Would the study of career development and advancement patterns of non-executive Aboriginal Peoples within Canada's Federal Public Service produce similar findings? Would the findings for Aboriginal Peoples be similar for other executives from different employment equity groups? How successful are Aboriginal female executives as compared to Aboriginal male executives? Why are so many Aboriginal executives in Canada's public service clustered in one federal department? Why is it that 95 % of federal departments have no Aboriginal executives within their management cadre? Do current federal special initiative programs support or hinder the career development and advancement of Aboriginal Peoples? Theses questions present rich possibilities for ongoing research to increase the Public Service knowledge base regarding the participation rate of Aboriginal Peoples to the executive cadre of the Canadian Federal Public Service.

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Changing Policy from the Inside-out: Organizational Learning in the Health-care Context

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Introduction

Our interest in organizational learning is rooted in a desire to understand more about how organizations can support the growth and development of individuals and teams, and create life-enhancing work environments. Since Peter Senge et al (1990, 1999) popularized Chris Argyris' (1990) work on organizational learning, the concept has pervaded the lexicon of workplace learning and change. However, despite legions of related books, articles, films, and professional and academic programs, the concept of organizational learning remains difficult to define, and even more difficult to implement. Currently, organizations face challenges in proceeding with such experiments due to a lack of examples of how these complex concepts translate into daily workplace experience.

Within the current climate of change in the Ontario provincial health care system, we discovered one hospital that is progressively working to embed organizational learning practices within their structures and processes. This hospital has been largely successful in creating positive changes in their organizational culture, promoting employee learning and commitment to the organization, and providing the foundation for *both* efficiency *and* innovation.

> Hospitals are increasingly complex organizations (Ashmos, Duchon, Hauge & McDaniel, 1996; McDaniel, 1997) and the creation of organizational learning systems within them is a significant challenge. At this time, much of the health care literature on organizational learning focuses solely on training and professional development (Davidhizar, 2000) and there are few case studies of organizational learning located in hospital settings (Lipshitz, 2000). Given the current internal and external pressures facing hospitals, we believe in the importance of creating opportunities to learn from health care organizations that are experiencing success.

Our study

We conducted some of our research in a hospital (referred to in our publications as Urban Religious Hospital, or URH) that had deliberately embarked on a process of developing a commitment to organizational learning. Their attempt to change the culture of the organization preceded the mandated provincial changes to hospital infrastructure and operation throughout the province, and therefore resulted not from legislation, but rather from the administration's desire to create an innovative organization that would truly support the work, learning and development of its employees. It was expected that these efforts would help buffer hospital staff from the chaos that ensued from the turbulent provincial health care climate.

This work was part of a three-year research project, conducted between 1998-2001. The goal of our research was to identify and examine Canadian organizations that were engaged in developing and supporting organizational learning strategies. Specifically, we were interested in exploring how these organizations were working to embed on-going learning within the actual work processes at individual, team and strategic levels.

After initially identifying forty-two Canadian organizations as "learning organizations," our team solicited ten to participate in the research. Ten randomly selected employees in each completed The Learning Organization 5 Stage Diagnostic Survey (Woolner et al, 1995). Five organizations self-reported at mature stages of organizational learning on the survey. In the end, four of these organizations, including URH, participated in the final stage of our research, which involved individual interviews, focus groups and on-site observation. We interviewed a diverse cross-section of between 7-15 employees in each organization and collected organizational documentation. Data were analyzed using qualitative analysis software and twelve primary themes emerged from our interviews at each site. Using these themes, members of our team wrote narrative case descriptions of each organization.

The health-care case, URH, is a mid-size religious hospital in a Canadian urban centre. A decade ago, URH faced an unprecedented debt crisis, which triggered the establishment of a new senior management team. Under the guidance of their President, URH embarked on a journey to change its culture, support and recognize its employees, share ideas and information internally and improve institutional knowledge and practice. In order to highlight their achievements, the case study explores key strategies employed by the staff of URH to move forward in their efforts to become a learning organization. However, while we focus on the positive changes made within URH, we need to acknowledge that their organizational learning experience is a work in progress, and there remain significant implementation challenges along the way. By way of framing URH's situation in context, it is important to first begin with an overview of current health care policy changes and their impact on hospitals in Ontario.

Public Policy & the Health Care Context

The highly charged political nature of health care in Canada is the "result of the complex federal-provincial arrangements for government insurance of hospitals and medical services put in place between the late 1950s and the early 1970s" (Burke & Stevenson, 1999, p.598). In 2002, as our population ages and diversifies, the on-going debates about provision and funding continue.

The political health care climate is equally charged in the province of Ontario. In June 1995, Mike Harris and the Conservative Party were elected into office with their "Common Sense Revolution" platform designed to create a small, fiscally conservative government, reduce public spending and improve public sector efficiency. After the election, the health care system quickly became a target for reform and the new government announced that it would "reduce hospital budgets by 18 percent over a three-year period." (HSRC, 2000. p, 12)." Subsequently, in 1996, the Ontario Health Services Restructuring Committee (HSRC) was established as an arms-length agency of the government. Its mandate was to "make decisions about restructuring Ontario's public hospitals" and to "improve quality of care, outcomes and efficiency to help create a genuine, integrated health services system." (HSRC, 2000, p.2)

The initial work of the HSRC led to the closure and/or amalgamation of many urban hospitals. As a result, remaining hospitals are facing unprecedented pressure to deal with additional patients and communities, while addressing the increasing demands for greater fiscal responsibility and accountability. Not surprisingly, the HSRC has been accused of precipitating "hospital closures, amalgamations, and realignment of patient-care services" (Richardson, 1999, p.59). Additionally, there appears to be skepticism about the quality of the decision-making that led to these radical changes in hospital infrastructure. As one hospital president states, "There is something fundamentally wrong with the restructuring model in Canada" (Coutts, 1998), which, historically, has decreased health care funding in order to encourage efficiency, instead of working to support hospitals in their effort to create new modes of operating and reinvest their saved funds elsewhere. In the same article, the head of the HSRC agrees with this notion, upon which Coutts expands by saying: "very rapid bleeding of resources out of the hospital sector without a plan on how the sector should adapt" is dangerous and that "doing things ad hoc is very expensive." (p.7)

While most of the mechanical aspects of the closures and amalgamations were in effect prior to 1999, many of the organizational and cultural aspects of these mergers, closures and changes are still unfolding. As such, Boyle (1999) notes that the goal of the second phase is to create a "genuine, smoothly coordinated, seamless health services system." (p.13). Describing the challenges in reaching this objective, Duncan Sinclair, the head of the HSRC states, "The ultimate goal of health-care reform is to promote collaboration by doctors, nurses, hospitals, nursing homes, community agencies and public health agencies. By definition that is a system. But the fact is that we don't have a system. We have a group of often excellent individual players who contribute relatively independent of the other players." (Boyle, 1999, p.13).

The URH Case

Within this context, the staff of URH have created opportunities for collaboration and system- wide learning that mirror the goals of the HSRC, while supporting their own core institutional values. While the hospital's work towards becoming a learning organization has been significant and far-reaching, we will use this brief paper to focus our attention on two key aspects of their efforts. The first is the organizational commitment to values and learning and its impact on staff morale and attitudes. The second examines how the staff has harnessed information within the organization with a commitment to knowledge, learning and development for the purpose of improving creative practice. We explore the ways in which URH's commitment to organizational learning has created several forms of benefit for personnel, the hospital and the health care system as a whole. We also highlight several ways in which URH has started to reach out to other hospitals and organizations within the system.

As previously mentioned, URH began its journey as a learning organization with the arrival of a new President. At the time, URH was in a state of financial crisis and there was little in the way of collective goals or a formal network for communicating and celebrating organizational success. The President, with the assistance of members of the administrative team, established a process to distill the key goals and values of URH. Staff participation led to the renewed articulation of URH's longstanding commitment to serve the "urban, poor and homeless community" and provide "excellence in patient care" that has become the focus of their mission.

Mission and Values. URH has deliberately embedded its core values and goals within its systems and processes throughout the hospital, and they are reflected in the culture of the organization as well as in individual members' decisions and behaviour. This evolution, which has taken years of strategic support, has given the values of URH a foundational role within the hospital. One participant explains, "The mission and values guide the hospital in what we want to do in a larger health care frame." To ensure that the mission and values are at the heart of organizational practice, URH has created several strategic initiatives including: 1) the establishment of the office of the Director of Mission & Values; 2) the establishment of an employee recognition system; and 3) the establishment of methods for embedding the values and goals within organizational processes.

Office of Mission & Values. The Director of Mission and Values (DMV) plays an integral role within the Senior Management group at URH, working to ensure that all URH employees are aware of the values, and creating opportunities for the values to be explored and clarified. All new

URH employees attend an extensive orientation program within which "there is an open discussion of the Mission and Values, the history of URH, the importance of caring for the disadvantaged and the commitment to the poor."

Awards & Recognition. The creation of the URH's employee recognition and rewards program has been a deliberate and purposeful step towards celebrating the values in action. A research participant commented: "In 1990 there was nothing in the way of staff recognition or values recognition. Now there are plenty of awards. There is recognition within the communication at URH of employee excellence." Employees are enthusiastic about the rewards and the wide range of possibilities for recognition, explaining: "The Most Valuable Player award is nominated by peers for going above and beyond the call of duty. There are also pictures and names of recognized people." Another example is the awards for individuals, teams and projects demonstrating the implementation of values in action, and the "URH Day where everyone is honoured and is given a memento."

Decision-Making & Leadership. The values play a significant role in the decision-making processes at URH. "There are strong mission and values at URH. We have worked to keep it alive. We talk about it a lot. Leadership and decision-making all work to keep it alive." Another staff member explains, "There is recognition of the values in the leadership. It is evident in their behaviour. They support staff. You are recognized for hard work. The values and mission also influence teams and staff report that most teams refer to the values in their work. They check the mission." In times of crisis in particular, team members are expected to make decisions within the framework of the hospital's mission and values.

Knowledge Management

URH has turned its diagnostic sensibilities upon itself by conducting extensive research on the organization and continuously evaluating its own performance. Building on the mission and values to provide excellence in patient care through committed employees, URH is devoted to gaining a better understanding of how both groups experience the hospital. It conducts on-going studies of its employees' opinions, its organizational culture, and the patient experience to learn more about its performance and inform its practices. This information is continually reported back to employees, who are then engaged in team problem solving on the issues which are identified as priorities. Thus, over the years, URH has developed a culture that is deeply rooted in reflection on and analysis of its organizational health. Commenting on URH's commitment to knowledge generation and introspection, one employee explained, "there is an underlying thirst for knowledge." Another said: "We are measuring things constantly. There are lots of indicators." A specific example is the recent Culture Study, which explored issues of organizational culture and quality throughout the organization. One participant explained, "We need to know what they believe is happening. It gives us good insights. There is constant reinforcement."

URH is committed to understanding how patients' experience the hospital. In order to gather evidence of patient experience, and in turn to use this data to improve service, URH has an extensive array quantitative assessments of patient satisfaction, patient outcomes and waiting time. In addition, "There is a patients' complaints process. There is a designated person who deals with this as the Patient Satisfaction Coordinator, who is the survey (master). There is also a community advisory committee to address specific inner city program needs."

Case Summary

It is important to note here that URH balanced its budget and developed fiscal accountability practices long before the HSRC policies were implemented. URH has moved towards reaching its goals with an approach to organizational and personal learning that is centred in the values, the culture and in the commitment to knowledge creation. The hospital has established an organizational culture for which the values and mission serve as the foundation. Upon this foundation, a system of staff recognition has been planfully created. A process for self-reflection, both through qualitative data collection, as well as with a scientific eye for metrics, has been devised to assist staff and management in learning more about their internal and external functions, clients and work.

We believe that URH's commitment to organizational learning has created several clear benefits for personnel, the hospital and the health care system as a whole. First, there is a very apparent sense of enthusiasm and appreciation from staff regarding URH's systemic adherence to the explicit values of the organization. While many say that they are not directly motivated by the awards, they view them as an effective tool to help individuals remember the values and mission, as well as learn more about various individuals and work projects within the hospital. During times of retrenchment and restructuring, organizational commitment to this sort of staff recognition, while only a small token, remains an important element of organizational culture and tradition. It contributes to cohesion among employees, and reminds staff that they are making significant contributions to the organization (Wenger, 1999).

At all levels and in many departments within URH, staff shared their experiences with reflection and internal knowledge generation, noting that many new programs have grown from their data gathering and analysis. This commitment to knowledge generation and management is seen to be a key strategic advantage that supports innovation and the creation of improved practices and processes within the hospital (Senge et al, 1999; Ahmed et al, 1999).

Within many learning organizations, reflecting on "best practices" often involves expeditions to other similar organizations to compare performance and experience. Our research participants included several employees who have taken responsibility for exploring how their particular work function is organized in other similar hospitals. In some cases, our participants have organized groups of staff from other hospitals to facilitate the mutual sharing of experiences and learning. URH staff, working with colleagues from other institutions, have made policy recommendations to the government and suggested possible opportunities for the hospitals to work together, share costs and reap mutual benefits.

Conclusion

This case presents an example of a hospital that has managed to maintain its focus and its ability to succeed in the increasingly chaotic health care climate. By adopting strategic and proactive organizational learning strategies, URH has developed a preventative, long-term approach to insuring its own organizational health. The hospital has evolved a culture in which systematic testing and diagnosis of its organizational functioning, process and performance creates baseline data that provide a platform for organizational change and improvement. This is framed by a set of shared values which employees are supported to enact; they are then rewarded and celebrated for their success. Staff experience autonomy in making decisions in collaborative projects which reflect the hospital's values and goals. Although we have not explored them in this brief paper, the hospital also provides models for authentic teaming, strategic planning, and individual professional development. Thus, while URH exists within a context of constraint and retrenchment, we believe that their approach to organizational health maintenance provides a potential template for enacting the HSRC vision within the entire provincial health care system.

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Examining Practice, Understanding Experience: the Experience of Doing AIDS Prevention Work with Injection Drug Users

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Abstract: This mixed methods study examines the experiences of AIDS prevention workers whose clients include injection drug users. It considers how these workers' practices are shaped by their own lived experiences, and the contexts in which they work.

Purpose of Study:

This study examines the experiences of AIDS prevention workers whose clients include injection drug users. It considers how workers' organizational affiliation, education and training, and lived experience may influence how they do their jobs. It documents the services proffered to IDUs by these workers and the workers' own experiences with licit and illicit drug use, to find patterns among this complexity of interactions to help us understand what prevention workers do—and why they do it. Both the experiences of persons doing AIDS prevention work with IDUs and the perspectives of these prevention workers regarding their work are scrutinized. This study explicates the challenges faced by these workers, and uncovers how these workers adapt their practices to their understanding of their contexts and their selves, fully cognizant that their practices are under scrutiny because of their stigmatized and marginalized clients.

Theoretical Framework:

Taking from Foucault's writings on the intersections of power and knowledge (1980a, 1980b,1990a, 1990b), this study seeks to locate differences in interest as expressed in the experiences of AIDS prevention workers from a variety of contextual, experiential and ideological stances. These activities give evidence of how both social service (community-based, non-governmental) and health care workers do this work, and the nature of their individual responses to AIDS work targeting IDUs. Little of Foucault's writings are overtly epistemic in their focus, yet the notion that different ways of knowing exist is reflected in many of his writings.

A cornerstone of his scholarship is that differences in perspective (or outlook) are to be found between those in "authority" and those subject to said authority. Often those in "authority" use institutions (such as the academy or government agencies, including health care in Canada's welfare state) to disseminate their own perspectives as singularly correct. These regimes of thought (1980b, p.81) seek to transgress all institutional and organizational bounds in their denunciation (or silencing) of other views. "Subjugated knowledges", Foucault wrote, "(represent) a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their tasks or insufficiently elaborated: naÔve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity" (1980b, p.82). With both instruments of the regime of thought (health care workers) and instruments of resistance (social service workers) as practitioners, the study of AIDS prevention workers whose clients are IDUs affords an unique opportunity to consider how subjugated knowledges and the regime of thought intersect.

Research Design:

Sampling strategy

For this study, a purposeful sampling strategy (Sudman, 1976) was used. Most HIV prevention programmes directed towards IDUs are not coordinated by AIDS service organizations (ASOs); ASOs in Canada have traditionally been founded by gay men, and have played a secondary role in IDU-targeted prevention work. Instead, such programs are usually offered by social service groups, whose existence predate this epidemic (and whose primary foci are poverty, mental health, sex trade, women, or specific cultural communities), or by government health services (including public health clinics, public health outreach nurses, or substance abuse treatment programs). Approximately equal numbers social service and health care organizations were contacted for participant recruitment. Inclusion criteria for the study were: persons working (paid or unpaid) for a health care or social service organization operating in the city of Vancouver, whose clients include IDUs, and whose work involves direct communication with IDUs about AIDS prevention.

Method

A mixed methods approach--survey questionnaires (Fowler, 1993), and semi-structured interviews (Bernard, 2000)—was chosen for data collection. Questionnaires were mailed to 70 agencies; 18 of which supplied at least one participant for a total number of 36 in the overall sample. Interviews of 16 questionnaire respondents were conducted after an initial analysis of the questionnaire responses, to supplement and edify the data collected. In particular, areas where there did not seem to be any sort of consensus among respondents were targeted as emergent themes for the interviews, and were supplemented by the researcher's own experience as a community educator. Fifteen of 16 interviews transcribed verbatim; detailed notes were taken from the remaining interview. Participants were given transcripts for their review. Note: all names are pseudonyms, to protect participant anonymity. Frequency of responses for the overall sample, and significance of difference between sub-samples (social service versus health workers) were conducted with the quantitative data, using SPSS10.0. Qualitative questionnaire responses and interview transcripts were thematically analyzed via Atlas/ti 4.1 software.

Findings:

Working conditions

Practitioners in the sample were highly educated, often female, and brought a strong commitment to social justice to their work. But social service workers and their health worker colleagues were different in the degree to which such generalizations held true. Eighty percent of health workers held baccalaureate degrees or higher; versus 63 percent of their social service counterparts. Fifty-five percent of heal workers saw HIV prevention for IDUs as a one of their primary (more than 50 hours per month) job responsibilities, and only 15 percent saw it as a secondary (under 20 hours per month) responsibility. Only 25 percent of social service workers viewed HIV prevention for IDUs as a primary responsibility; over a third (38 percent) classified as a secondary responsibility. Sixty-nine percent were paid workers, with six percent unpaid workers (volunteers), and 25 percent doing HIV prevention for IDUs as both. Median salary range for the overall sample and both sub-samples was $40-49,000 per annum. The participants were more often female than male (58 versus 39 percent; one person preferred not to answer), but health work proved to be a more gendered fields of practice than social service. Social service workers were evenly divided along gender lines, whereas 70 percent of the health workers were female. We did not ask participants to choose a single cultural, racial, or national identification/affiliation. As Canadian society continues to become more culturally diverse—especially in major urban centres like Vancouver—fewer people seem to describe themselves as "only" Canadian. Though 78 percent of the participants identified as Canadian, many of these described themselves as Canadian and European (28 percent of the overall sample), Canadian and Asian (7.1 percent overall), or Canadian and Aboriginal (6.2 percent overall). Three percent of the participants described themselves as exclusively either European, Asian, Aboriginal, or American; another fourteen percent described themselves as Mixed. Four participants—accounting for twelve percent of the sample—identified themselves as Aboriginal, including two who described themselves as being both Aboriginal and European or Canadian. Of the four Aboriginal participants, three worked for Aboriginal-specific programs or organizations; perhaps the low representation of Aboriginal persons in non-Aboriginal-targeting programs is more disturbing.

Becoming Involved—Why

Sixty-nine percent of respondents cited a commitment to social justice as a reason for becoming involved in HIV prevention with IDUs, by far the most frequent motivation cited. This commitment was held equally by both sub-groups of workers, and many of those interviewed cited some sort of community activism prior to working with IDUs. Don works for a social service agency. His introduction HIV/AIDS was at home: his partner was diagnosed as having HIV, as were several members of his gay male circle. Though he began his "work with HIV, as we have talked about earlier, because my partner became ill. My whole social group had HIV. My work with IDUs and HIV (now) primarily comes through my work". Karla worked for a social service agency. Her activism dates back to high school, and her work on social justice issues has been in several different realms:

> "like a lot of people I kind of fell into it. I'd been a student at UBC doing my undergrad and had been involved in lots of social justice kind of movements along the way from the time I was a teenager...(I) ended up developing and coordinating an outreach program for the food bank and of course came into contact with lots of people living in poverty and people with substance abuse issues and from there I think because I was becoming more and more involved in women's organizing and the feminist movement, I just had a natural sort of affinity with the women's issues in the downtown East side."

Karla's work on hunger, anti-poverty, substance abuse and women's issues reflect her broad commitment to social justice and creating change at the local level. Hers was the most generalized social-justice-based motivation for working with IDUs. Pete spoke of how, as a gay man, AIDS affected his community; this inspired him to focus on AIDS prevention and treatment, though not exclusively with gay men:

> "(initially) I was interested in exploring the gay community in Vancouver from a (health) perspective...(I) made a decision my first year that if I was going to provide HIV care, I would not limit it to one group affected by the disease. That I would specifically make an effort in my two years to learn about the Native community and to learn about the injection drug using community."

Having previously spent some time doing community health work overseas, Peter wanted work in Vancouver that priorized helping the most marginalized. Thus he committed to working with any communities perceived to be at high risk for HIV infection, seeking work experiences with gay men, IDUs and Aboriginal persons. His was perhaps the most focused and strategized path into this work.

As these participant's own words attest, most of the study's participants see their work as social justice work. For some, their own knowledge of the marginalization of IDUs in society was first-hand.

Street Involvement & Addiction

Social Service workers (n=16) were much more likely to have been street-involved—having had the street-based drug trade of an urban centre like Vancouver—than their health worker (n=20) peers (x^2=.25 versus 0, p=.02). Fourteen percent identified themselves as former or current IDUs; another eight percent identified themselves as having been non-injecting addicts. Three of the four self-identified IDUs who participated in interviews (Suzanne, Ted, Jerry and Loretta) have achieved abstinence, and have worked with IDUs in HIV prevention for several years. Their *professional and personal knowledges* about addiction bring a particular kind of empathy to their work, as well as an ability to speak to their clients as a peer—of a sort. Their lived experiences have made them privy to the subjugated knowledges held by many IDUs. Equally important, their responses show that, as HIV prevention workers whose clients are IDUs, they have their own knowledges about IDUs and addiction.

Loretta was street involved, got off the streets, and back into mainstream society. After many years working in an unrelated field, she returned to school so she could go back to the downtown East side and working with street-entrenched IDUs:

> "How did I get involved...it was 'close to home' for me because I was previously involved/street entrenched as a youth."

By integrating her professional training and her own experiences on the street, Loretta was able to better understand how she became street involved, and subsequently got out. She perhaps felt herself able to help those on the street today. Suzanne's story is an exception: although she moved out of the downtown East side several years ago, she has maintained strong ties there. Rumours from old friends about changes in her old neighbourhood motivated her to check things out for herself:

> "Well I first came down here, years and years ago, I mean I was a working girl (in the sex trade) and needed more stuff (heroin) and then a mother in the suburbs basically and then…(I) heard that the streets had gotten all messed up, and I was thinking 'what's that about 'so I came back down. I went, 'my god, the place has changed, what behind this?' So that's how I started volunteering "

Suzanne works directly with IDUs, assisting them with health concerns and advocating on their behalf. Unlike any of the other participants who consider themselves addicts, Suzanne continues to inject drugs. As the only currently using IDU to participate in this study, she made a vital contribution to this project; her ability to discuss these issues as a prevention worker and an active IDU—in today's context—proved unique.

The Nature of Addiction

Virtually all (97 percent) agreed or strongly agreed with harm reduction approaches to injection drug used-related health issues, in principle. Most (88 percent) agreed or strongly agreed that addiction is a medical, not a criminal problem. Eighty percent agreed or strongly agreed that, "IDUs don't get enough emotional support from family or friends. Jerry finds that younger IDUs have better odds of accessing a support system, depending on how long they have been street-involved:

> "The earlier you get (someone street involved), the earlier people can try and stop ,and they do have those supports in place and they do have, they're motivated and they still have a job so they can go back to their jobs, they still have family. The more they lose the more they become isolated, the less they're motivated to return."

Almost half of those interviewed spoke of better outcomes with younger clients than with those firmly entrenched in the street.

Eighty-one percent disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement "Most IDUs don't want to get clean"; in other words, 81 percent believe that most IDUs would like to be abstinent, were it possible. Sixty-nine percent disagreed or disagreed strongly with the statement "IDUs could quit using if they wanted to". Though one could argue a clear majority of these workers don't expect their clients to achieve abstinence (if, for no other reason, due to the difficulties in securing services in detox or residential treatment programs), 31 percent did wonder whether more IDUs could stop using, if they mustered the willingness. Is this uncertainty rooted in participants' beliefs about the personal agency of the IDUs? Or, do these workers view as implausible IDUs getting clean who want to, because of the power of addiction? The IDUs level of disempowerment they face (and many will continue to face, even if abstinent)? Or, if the option of abstinence were proffered more frequently, under what conditions, and with what sorts of support would it be possible?

Eighty-six percent agreed or strongly agreed that , "IDUs use drugs to avoid painful memories of physical, sexual or emotional abuse. Several participants shared generalized and specific information about the commonality of pre-addiction abuse among IDUs, particularly women. Dorothy's experiences as a practitioner reflect this:

> "...some women have told me. They've come from really violent histories. Most of them have been abused a kids, been abused by family members. You hear a lot, especially from the women, a lot of stories of abuse by partners, by family, by mostly men in their lives. So I think that's a huge reason why they're down there, especially the young women, they don't feel safe at home. They've had quite a tragic past.

Dorothy expects her clients to have been abused in some way, quite often sexually; abuse no longer surprises her, though the specific stories are often heart-rendering. Karla makes an even stronger claim:

> "every single woman that I have ever worked with on the downtown east side was sexually abused as a child. Without exception."

For Karla as well, these stark generalized observations are become tangibly painful, when she recounts one specific woman's story:

> "She grew up in (the downtown East side), this woman ,in a family with six kids, and the father—both the parents—had addiction issues. The father murdered the mother, the brother murdered the father, the other brother was pimping the

> younger sisters...eventually the younger sisters were the women that I met and when I met them, two of them, they were both pregnant at the same time, they were both highly addicted and both HIV positive. This was like, if you want the kind of snapshot from experience, this is the snapshot of many, many women's experiences"

These women—their whole family's—experiences are harrowing. And working with a client base where violence and abuse are norms, establishing trust, maintaining boundaries, can be incredibly difficult.

Implications:

AIDS prevention programmes targeting IDUs contain transgressive, local knowledges, which explicate how the specific norms of society regarding discourses on substance use differ from local practice. In its contextualization of drug using practices, social service workers challenged regimes of thought related to disease prevention strategies, which employed medico-scientific information to encourage technical changes of personal practices (i.e. "hygiene"). As more information about the transmission of AIDS became available, such knowledge continued to be incorporated into the community's prevention strategies, but in ways which adapted the materials to the community's own discursive practices, rather than vice versa. Conversely, though health care workers often held similar perspectives as their grassroots colleagues, they avoided incorporating many of these beliefs into action, due to the normative practices of their institutions. The norms of the organizational context are clearly a powerful force in determining matters of practice among these workers.

This study contributes to adult education's understanding of how these workers use local knowledges to act in ways government workers cannot. The experiences of these adult educators will inform matters of practice (and, to a lesser extent, policy), here in BC, and other settings where HIV prevention programs target IDUs. Workers facing other health issues where social (in)justice is a determinant of vulnerability, may also find these findings of interest. Gaining a better understanding of what works, what does not, and how educators' efforts are impacted by the context in which they practice, could save millions of dollars—and many lives.

Notes:

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Third Space: Contested Space, Identity and International Adult Education

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Abstract: This paper builds on qualitative research with 15 international adult educators (female) who practice in the Global South. The cultural studies third space construct (Bhabha, 1994; Khan, 2000) is used to destabilize the fixed identity of these women as fluid and non-static. A specific case is used to explicate the relationship of global civil society, development work, feminism, and Christianity.

Women who work for justice on a global scale run the risk of labels and stereotypes such as westernizer, Christianiser, proselytizer, and feminist. In this paper I explore how one such woman negotiates the Christian and feminist discourses that regulate her life. She does not have a monolithic identity--her identity is changing, fluid, non-static, complicated, and paradoxical. I use the terms Christian, feminist, and western not to set up dualisms and binaries but to identify the discourse that stereotypes this woman and others like her. She is not a colonizer, nor right-wing Christian missionary, nor a feminist who eschews religion. Her identity is at once simple and complicated, translucent and opaque--this article is an attempt to render her as she sees herself. She openly resists categorization that limits her active resistance, agency, and progressive theology. This daily negotiation of identity disturbs the established categories of the westerner in the Global South and opens new possibilities for seeing and understanding women's identity.

Theorizing Third Space

Third space, migratory, hybridity, liminality, and interstices are terms that are coming into everyday academic discourse. They have entered research methodologies as working the hyphens (Fine, 1994), allegorical breaching (van Maanan, 1995), and troubling the categories (Lather, 2001); they reflect in some way the paradoxical and contradictory ways that woman's identity is too often coded. This identity is more helpfully understood as in flux, as a process of negotiating the spaces and the hyphens.

Notions of "third" have entered the public sphere as the Third Way of Tony Blair in UK politics, the third sector economy of civil society (Hall, 1997), and third space in cultural studies (Bhabha, 1994; Khan, 1998, 2000). "Third" refers to the constructing and re-constructing of identity, to the fluidity of space, to the space where identity is not fixed. In cultural studies, the term third space has gained prominence, primarily through the work of Homi Bhahba, who addresses the notion of identity. Third space is where we negotiate identity and become neither this nor that but our own. Third is used to denote the place where negotiation takes place, where identity is constructed and re-constructed, where life in all its ambiguity is played out. This term serves as a rebuttal or corrective to regulating views, and highlights a new way of seeing. Spivak (1990; 1999), Soja (1996), Gutierrez (1999), Hollinshead (1998), Routledge (1996), and Khan (2000) have all contributed to this discussion.

The post-colonial construct of third space is a place of resistance, a place "imbued with intent, that attempts to challenge, change, or retain particular circumstances, relating to societal relations, processes, and /or institutions" (Routledge, 1996, p. 415. n. 1). As they enter space as white, Christian, development workers, and feminists, the women in this study need to be political and strategic, in order to negotiate the complex terrain.

Feminist writers have discussed third space and related notions, albeit in different ways. hooks (1984), for instance, made much of the marginal space occupied by black women, one which she calls a "special vantage point," and which she urges black feminists to use to "criticize the dominant racist, classist, sexist hegemony as well as to envision and create a counter-hegemony" (p. 15). Like a marginal space, a third space can be central in itself and can be a strategic vantage point for women. Yet, the nomenclature of third space avoids the denotation of marginal as peripheral. Another feminist writer, Sharon Todd (1997) describes third space, in a uniquely feminist way, as a "mucous space, a shared space where each is involved in an exchange with the other" (p. 251). Todd's rendering suggests that third space is not just an in-between space, but one where there is a continuous intermingling and flowing back and forth between the two spaces (to incorporate the mucous metaphor), not a totally separate sphere, but one that embraces both sides. This feminist rendering of a third space is especially appealing as it may indeed aid in understanding further the world of female international development workers.

Situating the Research

In looking at the case of this woman, I examine how she engages in knowledge production as a Christian, development worker, and feminist from the North. She signals a new type of international educator, albeit one with the same Western cultural capital (MacIntosh, 2001). Her already complicated identity is further complicated when she enters development space as a Christian resisting the regulating discourse that accompanies those labels. This study is an attempt to speak to larger theoretical questions about authority and ambiguity, and specifically to dislocate and de-center religion from identity. The focus is an exploration of the space in which women practice progressive and political engagement in religious and secular realms. Although there are many highly complex and contradictory ways that religion connects to identity, they are not always one and the same. This study attempts to shift from identity politics that essentializes groups such as feminists or Christians towards a politics of difference, which moves away from a static and dualistic worldview. It is an attempt to "read ourselves within and against how we have been written" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 264).

To the best of my knowledge, the notion of third space is not widely considered in theology or religious literature. One place where it is discussed and elaborated is in Khan's (2000) *Muslim Women,* who works toward explicating the construction of Muslim's women identity outside the oriental world, and within a Canadian context. In this book she de-centers the stereotypic and monolithic notion of Muslim women in North America, making us aware of her identity as in "a space of always becoming" (p. 129). Her study of 14 women in Canada helps us to "complicate" their identity and to explore how they "negotiate a Muslim identity in Canada" (p. 26). The book is an exemplar of how their identity is negotiated daily as neither fully Oriental nor Muslim nor North American; it is "shifting, contradictory, and dynamic" (p. 130).

Development work in the Global South has the dubious history of being entangled with colonization and Christian conversion; it has been seen to go hand in hand with stereotyping or what Havel (1990) refers to as the herding of humans. These colonizers have been known as trying to overtake the countries with sameness--same people, things, life, the MacDonalds' approach to the world (Richard, 1985). Nuns, priests, and ministers went overseas to convert and to make Christians of the natives (Bhabha, 1994). Now, those who do development work, even those who work in religion-sponsored civil society organizations (e.g., Canadian Organization for Development and Peace), are more inclined to think of the political implications of their work, especially in terms of respecting culture and resisting the reproduction of Western ideas. Catholic-sponsored agencies, by and large, would not subscribe to the notion that they are Christianizing others in the Global South (see also Ryan, 1995).

Introducing Karen

Karen is in her late-40's, Scottish-Irish and Catholic. She teaches health and gender at a Canadian university in the winter, and facilitates courses for development workers in Africa in the summer months. Karen has spent her whole life working in development work overseas, either in lengthy term assignments (1-3 years) in various African countries, or as a contract worker (2-6 months) there. Her focus has primarily been on health education, and has also included bedside nursing and orienting professional volunteers. For her first 10 years of extended term assignments she was sponsored by a religious organization.

Karen grew up in a small, predominantly Roman Catholic, rural Canadian town. She was influenced by her parents' lifelong involvement in international movements. Listen as she describes her early years and the people who influenced her. The effect of the home on spirituality is a common theme in the lives of women who go overseas and in the lives of people in the service of the common good (see Daloz et al., 1996).

Motivation for International Work

L: Why did you go overseas?

K: I was always interested from a young age...my father was teaching at [the international program]. From the time I was 12, I thought I would be a nurse and go to Africa, I also said I was going to be a sister. At 16 I dropped that idea [she laughs]. These nuns...Sisters of Africa were here in our town, we would go and visit; they gave us Kool-Aid and showed us pictures and slides, and I kept that in mind, went out and did nursing, got experience and thought it was time to go overseas. I was interested in seeing the world. Yet, the stronger motive was to do good. I had so much to share....My real interest was going to Africa, being with poor people, and helping out.

Karen's motivation was clear --to do good and to help out. She goes on to explain how this attitude changed over time for her and how her experience changed her. Her vision of international work and her motivation for it changed considerably over time.

L: How do you look at "I want to do good" now?

K: I did not give a lot. I learned a lot. I look back and I hope I didn't do anything bad. Well, forgive me for all of those things I have thought of in that way. But, I learned a lot about myself, about development, justice and injustice, and when I came back I saw the injustice here which I had not seen before. Over there you see the situation of women, and you come back and you get so angry and frustrated and you say omigod this is going on here and I never saw it.

Spirituality and Overseas Work

I asked Karen to tell me a little about the spirituality that she experienced at home and how that influenced her life choices overseas. Her home was very religious and very traditional; it was only later that she was able to sort out the rituals/traditions from spirituality.

L: How did spirituality or religion affect how you grew up in an RC home?

K: I think that helping the poor is what I got from religion that influenced my spirituality....[We tended] to drop Christian since there was the sense you would be seen as an evangelizer.... Going over to help people changed and the reality hit me that there wasn't one person who asked me to *come, one person who needed me to be there.... Spirituality carries you through, and helps you to see other possibilities. It can be very devastating when one looks at global economy. When you look at international problems, you are inclined to think 'forget it.' Yet, spirituality motivates you to continue. There is where you get a lot of strength. It helps me personally in who I am and what I want to be in this world.*

Karen became a nurse, and went overseas to do development work mainly because it was "who she was" and she wanted "to help them out." Karen is still working in a development context, though now her permanent residence is Western Canada. She is no longer a regularly practicing Catholic since she feels that there is no place in North American Catholicism for her. Walking the borderland between spirituality and religion, she is clear on how her spirituality intersects with her everyday work. She is also aware that spirituality and religion are taboo in certain development circles.

Religious and Feminist Identity/ies

Karen has long been active in a Roman Catholic religious group dedicated to social justice and has been active at its national, regional and local levels. Despite her commitment to this aspect of Catholicism, she is no longer attends Sunday mass. An unfortunate encounter with her pastor forced her to see the inevitable–she and her vision of church are not welcome in her local parish.

L: Can you explain your current relationship to Christianity and practicing Catholicism.

K: I haven't been going to church regularly for about 2 years now. A lot of it, I was going because of my mother. She passed away so I don't have to go. I don't tell anyone I don't go. My aunt does not know. It is easier not to bring it up. I did have a discussion with a priest recently [that was the breaking point. I was supposed to speak after mass about a social justice activity.] ...A misunderstanding. Bottom line is he is the only one who speaks in church. Else, everyone will want to, according to him. I don't feel welcome. I don't have any interest. I will continue my work with [this organization] but not in the church....I found it very sad. Something that is so important in life, you just realize that is the way it is.

Karen is obviously saddened by this break with aspects of her tradition, and with her local parish. Her critical engagement with the issues and the politics of the institution have unsettled and disrupted her social locations, especially her religious and political locations. While she is physically and intellectually removed from the pew, she continues her work with the justice committee and has been forced to seek spiritual support elsewhere. She has refused to be appropriated (Haraway, 1992) and to know her place. I went on to ask Karen to talk about her relationship to feminism and how that intersects with her Catholicism.

L. Do you find any problems in defining yourself as Catholic and feminist?

K. Oh the F word [laughs]....It depends where I am and who I am talking with. When teaching a course in gender I hardly ever used it. That means you hate men. It has all those connotations. I use it in company that I know understands it. I would very much identify myself as a feminist. Catholic feminist??? It is not often I would use the terms together. I say that I am a Catholic, that is what I know and am comfortable with. Putting them together I guess I would be, I'd know who I would say what to.

L: Do people label you ? Do you ever encounter labels from people in the women's community...because you are Catholic and conversely from the Catholic community that you are involved in the women's associations?

K: Oh I would say so. And, I tend to be somewhat careful on which side of the street I am walking on as to what I say. Particularly when I was on the national council for [the social justice organization]. I would not say I was a member of a women's association. The people who know me would not have a problem, it would not be an issue. But for others there would be people who would have reservations. ... It all depends on what I want to do, what I want to accomplish.

L: Is that confusing?

K. No, it doesn't cause conflicts. Not in my mind. I speak to the people I am speaking to, whoever my audience is. Since I have been overseas and come back, I talk to the Catholic Women's League. If I can make a difference I speak to the audience. I challenge them. Sometimes I do the "Jesus is a Feminist" talk [laughs], so you know I don't mind challenging. It all depends.

Karen's situation evokes Todd's (1997) descriptions of a mucous or shared space, in which there is an exchange or continuous mixing. She moves skillfully and tacitly from one position to the other, negotiating the ambivalence and the challenges, finding refuge or statis, however briefly, in one space or the other. She holds neither one position nor the other continuously but allows the give and take flow. In her situation and in her life story, this third space is both unique and workable.

L: Do you think that there have been times when holding all those positions is hard?

K: Probably. I have not delved into it.... Others would stop and analyze the whole thing. And say okay this is what I believe. Nah, I don't have time. If someone is gonna ask me about church, I'd say there are times when I enjoyed church, when I found the time with the ritual helpful. I guess I don't get bent out of shape. I am sometimes confused; you know, What do I believe and What should I do?

Karen's narrative makes it clear that she is in a borderland and that she has accepted somewhat the inherent contradictions in her life. Her life has changed from the one of strict divisions and categories that she grew up in. She is displaced from the Catholicism of her youth, displaced from some of the connections of her early years, and has resisted a monolithic identity. Yet, she has not rejected Catholicism totally; she still identifies with it, however limited the connections, and has no intention of embracing another tradition. She wears the vestiges of Roman Catholicism, feminism, and development work all at once, and negotiates the conflicting identities that each of these brings.

Commentary

Karen has engaged actively with her own narrative, and in the process has highlighted her spirituality of commitment to right social and economic order. Both feminist and spiritual Karen still identifies as Catholic but is not a routine church attender, since she does not feel welcome. She corresponds to the women in Khan's (2000) study who identified as negotiating the ambivalence and selecting what to believe. She has found ways of negotiating the ambivalence, of walking the borderland and thriving in the midst of it.

In the hybridized third space past and future are continuously intermingling; culture is being re/negotiated in the here and now. The past figures greatly in the articulation of Karen's identity. As she moves beyond the traditional Roman Catholic upbringing she draws on her early influences to negotiate the present; she learns how to adroitly negotiate family politics ("I don't tell anyone I don't go. My aunt does not know. It is easier not to bring it up"). Karen has the myths and stereotypes of Catholicism that she once performed, and which were carried over from her traditional Catholic home. Yet, she has transformed them, and yet not let them go entirely. Her identity signals a particular third space--it is one that is indeed mucous-like (Todd, 1997), a softer and less-rigid rendering of space (less-spatial, if you will) that suggests the intermingling and continuous flowing, and at times indistinct identities. At times these identities are traditional, at times less so; at times strongly institutionally affiliated, at times generically spiritual; at times vocal about their allegiances, at times quieter and less-audible. Yet at all times, her religion and her feminism are the facets of her identity through which her development work, political location, and gender are mediated.

"Hybridity is precisely about the fact that when a new situation, a new alliance formulates itself, it may demand that you should translate your principles, rethink them, extend them (Bhabha, 1990, p. 216). In the case of this woman there is an effort to think through and experience identity and authority in new ways. As Bhabha says, even the left has preconceived categories that they use, and which need to be challenged. In Karen's case, when she is confronted with a new situation and new culture, she chooses neither a left nor a right way, a feminist or religious way--she opens up a new space where, as a hybridized subject, she is able to translate the polarities of Christianity and feminism into subversive and political categories of difference, religious identity, and feminist politics.

Churches are a large part of the global civil society space. Neither market nor government they work toward the freedom and emancipation of those in the South. In some cases, churches in the South became involved in liberation theology (e.g., Gebara 1995; Richard, 1985) and are organizing with people to undertake projects in their own freedom. These global civil society organizations network beyond the bounds of narrowly defined organizations and work with them. They are not a totally separate sphere, but rather function as, Valverde (1994) describes in her three-circuit model of civil society, "dynamic fluid-like processes taking places throughout the social" (p. 219). This paper has looked briefly at these fluid-like processes in the life of one international development worker, and has taken seriously Spivak's (1992) invitation to attend to the ways in which religion affects and is affected by women and culture.

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GYPSY SCHOLARS: CAREFUL DANCES OUTSIDE THE RESEARCH MACHINE

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Abstract: Independent, self-employed researchers represent a growing sector of adult education scholars. How do they negotiate this subject position? What are the implications of their work for university-based academics in adult education?

"Gypsy scholars"[1] is a term I use here to describe people engaged in scholarly teaching and research activities without the benefits of income security, institutional support, tenure-guaranteed academic freedom, and access to traditional avenues of research grant funding that normally accrue to scholars engaged in full-time faculty positions. This paper presents a qualitative inquiry into the personal experiences of negotiating research and teaching activities in adult education as a 'gypsy scholar'. The study used a narrative approach to examine the experiences of twelve individuals, focusing on understanding individuals' different stories and interpretations of these experiences. This paper explores, in particular, the contradictory meanings and desires apparent within participants' stories, including those implicating myself as researcher-interpreter. Early findings are linked tentatively to possible implications of the place for independent or 'gypsy' scholars in academic adult education research.

Theoretical Context

What I call 'gypsy scholarship' falls into a recently-identified category of work called 'portfolio career' where individuals create packages of self-employed work arrangements to contract their skills in a variety of contexts. Portfolio work has been described as increasingly significant in the growing flexibility characterizing work organizations, including higher education institutions (Cohen & Mallon, 1999; Gee, 2000; Handy, 1994; Sullivan, 1999). Portfolio professionals are mobile and active in designing their careers (Arthur & Rousseau, 2000), expanding what constitutes knowledge and success in work (Pahl, 1995). Their characteristics include having multiple networks and learning relationships (Hall, 1996), contingent or "portable" skills and knowledge across many organizations (Bird, 1996), and personal responsibility for career management (Sullivan, 1999). Central is what du Gay (1996) calls "the enterprising self", an entrepreneurial attitude that accepts risk and contingency, seeks challenge, and values continuous learning and individual choice in work. Gee (2000) argues that such individuals' employability depends on ability to adaptively and flexibly 'shape shift' for new projects in fast-changing circumstances. Portfolio work may be experienced as hostile as well as exhilarating (Hirsch & Shanley, 1996; Mallon, 1998). Challenges include crossing boundaries between organizations and occupations, creating new vocational identities, adjusting to risk and flexibility forming the new psychological contract of the boundaryless career, and creating non-traditional worker-employer relationships (Sullivan, 1999). As well, varying individual motivations and values can affect personal satisfaction and success in portfolio work (Feldman & Bolino, 2000).

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[1] *Scholar* – "intellectual, researcher, with a great deal of knowledge in a specialized area, using a rigorous and systematic approach to acquiring knowledge". *Gypsy* is a term suggested by one of the study participants. Others endorsed its use, preferring it to alternate terms considered such as 'fugitive scholars', independent academics', and 'portfolio professionals'.

In higher education throughout the 1990s, decreasing full-time tenure-track positions and increased demand for flexible faculty (Garrick and Usher, 2000) combined with a surge in societal emphasis on entrepreneurism (du Gay, 1996) appear to have helped create a group of professionals who choose or are compelled to pursue a portfolio approach to their desired career of academic adult education. The aspirations, needs, and challenges experienced by these individuals help illuminate an important aspect of the changing nature of research and teaching in higher education, as well as contribute to the small but growing body of literature documenting the nature of portfolio careers.

Methodological Approach

This qualitative study used a narrative approach (Dominicé, 2000; Measor and Sykes, 1992) to explore work experiences narrated by what I call 'gypsy scholars' -- independent adult education scholars who may be described as creating portfolio careers. Twelve men and women based in Edmonton, Calgary, Victoria and Vancouver who describe their work in these terms were interviewed in-depth, then participated in online group dialogue to further explore themes and questions issuing from the interview analysis. Although small-scale, the study may have some generalizability: Lincoln and Guba (1985) note that interviewing a dozen members of a particular group is likely to exhaust most available information on a given topic. In particular, I examined their experiences developing and sustaining scholarly activities of research and teaching, negotiating different institutional cultures while balancing workload and personal needs. Interviews and subsequent analysis explored 1) individuals' vocational aspirations, reasons for pursuing a portfolio career, and the extent to which their personal and work needs have been fulfilled; 2) challenges and strategies of negotiating a portfolio academic career in adult education; 3) significant benefits of the portfolio career path; and 4) resources, relationships, training, knowledge, organizational structures and policies that have or could have enhanced their experiences as a portfolio worker. In-depth interpretive analytic procedures (Ely, 1991) were used to create and validate a narrative representing each participant's experiences, after which transcripts were coded and categorized at increasing levels of abstraction to discern common themes, as well as negative case examples. Then transcripts were analysed critically using a feminist post-structural frame (Tisdell, 1999) to identify power relations, voice and positionality embedded in the narratives – examining how subjectivity is produced through individuals' engagement within the practices, discourses, moralities and institutions that lend significance to the events in their worlds.

Participants are demographically somewhat homogeneous: all hold graduate degrees, are white and 'mid-life' ranging in age from early forties to mid-fifties, and have lived in western Canada for at least five years. They represent a broad range of independent scholarship in adult education, combining research, teaching and in many cases graduate student supervision in areas of program evaluation, environmental education, management education, organizational development, career development, English-as-second-language, media education, and religious education. One group, the smallest, include those who are or were actively seeking an academic position since completing a PhD, and have taken up contract work in research and teaching as a default position. The second group includes those who had held a faculty position (academic or administrative) in higher education, and then decided to leave their jobs in favor of self-employment for reasons ranging from new opportunity to 'academic burnout'. The third group includes individuals who had never contemplated employment in a higher education institution, entering self-employment immediately after completing graduate work or leaving a (usually managerial) position in government or private firm. The study findings so far do not reveal clear links between these groups (representing reasons for entering portfolio work) and individuals' attitudes to and experiences of independent scholarship work.

Findings

Important to acknowledge first is my own positionality in conducting this research, as a white woman academic, safely ensconced in a tenure-track position in a university that supports scholarly research and writing through seed grants, release time, and grant application assistance. I am surrounded by a community of like-minded people and continuous dialogues/presentations reinforcing the importance of research and supporting me as I confront its lonely challenges. But before I accepted the security and privileges of this position, I was self-employed. I contracted out my services to various institutions across Canada as itinerant university teacher, organizational developer, workshop facilitator, program evaluator, and curriculum developer. While I sometimes miss the flexibility and excitement of portfolio work, I do not miss the roller-coaster of anxiety about finding the next contract. Nor do I miss the unpredictable work rhythms, sometimes scrambling to design a proposal within impossibly tight timelines, or coordinating the crunch of several simultaneous deadlines. What I do remember is struggling to remain connected with scholarly writing and researching activities during those seven years. No-strings research grants (such as SSHRC) do not typically allow remuneration to the researcher, and are very difficult to access without a university affiliation.

My contracting experiences aside, I felt very sensitive to the difference between my current position and work-world, and that of the people who so graciously shared their work lives with me. My own work in this project was implicated in sustaining certain structural inequities in the work of independent scholars. For one thing, while I collected income during the interview hours, the participants were giving up billable hours to share freely the knowledge and experience that constituted their very livelihood. For another, because I have the salaried time to do so, I am able to generate academic capital by using their stories of experience to create articles and presentations. As one participant noted, independent scholars don't have the time themselves to write about the knowledge they are generating every day, particularly not for academic outlets that offer little or no compensation. While public support for university-based scholarship is important to ensure academic freedom and basic research untied to shifting commercial demands, adult education has also long acknowledged the important place for research that is rooted directly in the field. Independent scholars are ideally positioned to initiate this work, being strong communicators by virtue of their work demands, trained in research methods, unrestrained by a particular organizational context, and motivated to conduct inquiry.

The study's early findings indicate issues in portfolio work related to work intensification and expansion, the two-edged trap of flexibilization, work-family conflict, individualized negotiation of employment relations, and exploitation of itinerant teaching in higher education. In terms of conducting and disseminating research as an independent scholar, two issues emerged that will provide the focus here: tensions of pursuing and positioning one's research in a commercial environment; and creating new knowledge networks as an independent scholar.

Pursuing And Positioning One's Research In A Commercial Environment

Independent scholars must finance their own research time and expenses, usually by linking it to a contract for service. As one participant explained, "It's the client's question, not yours" that drives the research. However, all indicated large discretionary control not only in seeking and selecting projects they personally felt to be worthwhile, but also in guiding a client's project to focus on issues they felt to be most significant. What was clear as a secondary point is the apparent abundance of research-related contracts, evident in the frequent stories of participants turning down contract opportunities that were of little interest or personal meaning.

In some cases, participants personally funded an extensive research project. Two applied unsuccessfully to SSHRC; one gathered a team of colleagues who are now pursuing the project with their own resources. A third formed a coalition of like-minded individuals, and worked to secure government and agency grants to enable them to develop a program of education and research in environmental education. Two participants were actively writing and attempting to publish their ideas in articles and a book. Such research and writing endeavors are labor-intensive with few clear outcomes and no guarantee of compensation for expenses or time. The products of such efforts carry little cachet among clients and colleagues in the commercial world of contract-for-service. What appeared to sustain individuals, besides a love of intellectual labor, was a strong personal belief in the significance and potential contribution of such endeavors.

Creating New Knowledge Networks

Because the next contract relies not only on one's reputation built on the last one, but also on the networks one is constantly building, independent researchers place great importance on relationship building. Projects typically involve pulling together colleagues with specialized expertise, as well as a client's internal organizational people. Independent scholars appear to excel at mediating among different ideologies and dialects, translating ideas between different discourses and groups. As well, most contractors carry more than one, sometimes as many as five or six, major projects at once; thus they are bridging among many organizations and issues, incorporating many forms of knowledge and spanning many networks simultaneously. Participants frequently referred to the 'flexibility and diversity' of their daily work: "I can flow quickly from one thing to the next, incorporate new materials constantly, take a few days off or attend a conference when I want to." When I inquired about the ownership of the intellectual property they were generating, I found this to be a non-issue for most: "We don't need to come from scarcity. I'm eclectic, bringing pieces together from all over. It's shared, collective knowledge." However, networks are raced, gendered and classed, with implicit rules of inclusion/exclusion that are difficult to discern or challenge. They also can be culturally tight. Even a middle-class white male who had moved to another province and city was finding it a slow and rather discouraging process to gain entry to local organizational networks. And building networks oneself requires an enormous investment of energy and patience.

Thus even outside the well-protected elite research machine of grant-giving, team formation, salaried support and peer-reviewed publication secured by the academy, there is fruitful opportunity for generating and exchanging knowledge. Independent scholars in adult education must make their own way in this uncertain space, finding connections and covering their expenses through inventive means. However, the way is unnecessarily difficult and isolated, and the rich knowledge and processes created remain unnecessarily disconnected from university-based researchers.

Implications for Adult Education Scholarship: Research and Teaching

This study raises questions about who and what kinds of adult education scholarship are potentially excluded, and whose interests may be perpetuated, by existing institutions of higher education and current policies supporting scholarly research. We may ask what changes may be warranted in structural, financial, and relational support for adult education research. For example, there are implications here for policy governing the larger research-granting agencies, such as the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, which tend to discriminate against scholars who are not employed or supported by higher education institutions. Funds for research, even small seed-grants, accessible by independent scholars, would be welcomed by some. More partnerships between research-oriented university faculty and independent scholars would help link academics in adult education with contractors' extensive contact networks among community and business organizations. Such partnerships would also enable the self-employed to join academic research teams, access grant-writing assistance and general research support, and even claim university affiliation. Independent scholars may benefit from the critical perspectives that academics in adult education often bring, and academics gain the first-hand immediacy of highly contextualized issues and research questions. Not only do university-based academics benefit personally by inviting independent scholars to join them in designing and conducting projects, but they access new networks of knowledge sharing, opening active links between the academic knowledge base of adult education and alternate forms of knowledge. There is much to be done in opening opportunities for dissemination of and access to the applied research that tends to characterize independent scholars' work – through edited books, multiple authorship, websites, and more flexible adjudication for conferences.

The study itself offers useful illustrations of alternate (non-institutionalized) approaches to scholarly careers in adult education. My initial analysis of these individuals' experiences indicate possible contradictions between adult education purposes, social responsibility, financial support, sanctioned career paths, and the role of institutions (both institutions of higher education and research funding bodies). These contradictions, situated within individuals' own desires and within the organizations they work with, illuminate complexities in the work of all adult education researchers. For me as a soon-to-be tenured academic in a higher education institution, they raise fruitful questions about my own community of scholarship, and the extent to which I participate in maintaining what Finger and Asún (2001) call the institutionalized, professionalized "dead end" of adult education.

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The Limits of 'Informal Learning': Adult Education Research and the Individualizing of Political Consciousness

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Abstract: Based on participatory research with workers with disabilities, this paper argues that the concept of informal learning does not provide an emancipatory way forward for adult education theory and practice. Rather, it individualizes collective political movements, bolsters the cult of credentials, and further excludes highly marginalized groups.

Informal learning, conceptualized in contrast to formal (school-based) and non-formal (organized, non-credit) learning, has gained currency in adult education literature. A central theme in the recent literature on informal learning is the rationale for, and the practice of, recording previously unrecognized learning experiences. Adult education theorists describe two overlapping purposes for researching informal learning: first, to identify more efficient ways for employees to learn at work and for the employer to realize the benefits of this learning (Watkins & Marsick, 1992) and second, to value the learning experiences of socially marginalized groups. This second project has gained momentum in recent years, with the documentation of informal learning leading to educational credentials, as seen in the explosion of *prior learning assessment* programs in further and higher education. Some theorists also hope this documentation will provide the rationale for increased workplace democracy and participation in decision making (Livingstone, 1997); and the recognition of the educational value of social movement activities (Foley, 1999). There are, however, problems with using the concept of informal learning to provide away forward for marginalized groups. Theorizing 'the learner' as an autonomous, competitive individual will not address the ways gender, race, and ability oppression play out in people's lives. It is also uncertain whether increasing the marketability of marginalized workers by emphasizing their learning achievements will decrease the exploitation and oppression that these workers experience (Tobias, 1999). Based on participatory research with workers with disabilities, I argue that the concept of informal learning does not provide an emancipatory way forward for adult education theory and practice. Rather, it individualizes collective political movements, bolsters the cult of credentials, and further excludes highly marginalized groups.

Recognition of informal learning- and its institutionalized process, prior learning assessment, is on the surface a way of levelling the privilege of credentials, and a way of helping workers get credit for what they know. It is important, however, to ask to what end are we interested in defining and quantifying informal learning. Livingstone (1997), argues that recording previously uncounted knowledge and skills reveals that employers under use their workers' skills, and that workers have many of the skills required to participate in the decision-making process at work. Another reason for recording informal learning, in the same vein, would be to combat the notion that there is a skills shortage in the labour market. Livingstone (1997) argues that the opposite is true- that unemployed and underemployed workers have many skills that are not being used. This is in fact true of many underemployed people with disabilities, however, I would argue that their underemployment is not simply a result of their learning not being recognized. A second flaw in the rationale for credentializing informal learning is that 'socially excluded' or marginalized people would presumably also have been excluded from the experiences through which people gain marketable skills. If we want to recognize informal learning for the purpose of decreasing social exclusion, we are quickly thrown into questions about what kinds of experiences to value, and whether we intend to privilege experiences of integration into mainstream society. If we shift the focus from *social exclusion* to *oppression*, then we are talking about something that impacts life experience- something that harms the individuals and communities. Shifting the frame from exclusion to oppression requires us to go beyond valuing a different kind of experience to a recognizing that oppression includes experiences of violence, isolation, and poverty. In other words, it has a material basis. When people have been excluded from workplaces, they may not have the knowledge that comes from being in a workplace. When people are socially, economically and politically excluded, how can their life experiences be counted up and presented for credit? Wilma Fraser (1995) points out that "[f]or those at the margins of political, economic and social power, the notion that they 'are what they have done' sounds more like a slap in the face than a term of encouragement…" (Fraser, 1995). The literature on learning de-politicizes 'learners', and ignores ways that learning is organized by the social relations that the 'learners' exist in.

There are several problematic assumptions built into theories of informal learning, the most obvious of which is the notion that informal learning is self-directed, and that home is a space where learners can take control of their own learning agenda. This notion contains a set of assumptions about gender, race, class and ability. For example, Foley (1999) describes a family gathering in order to give two examples of informal learning. The first example is a group of male mine workers discussing and critiquing management practices. While this discussion is going on at the dinner table, two women share a recipe for cake (Foley, 1999, pp. 1-4). This account indicates that a highly gendered process is taking place, but Foley does not refer to gender. This story indicates a dialectic between what things are learned, and the time and space (physical and intellectual) available to the learner. The male mine worker in the account has retreated to a safe place to reflect on his work experiences, while the women in the story are still 'at work'- they are not free for critical reflection on their own workday, instead they are learning to make cake. Home is not a neutral space from the standpoint of disability either. For example, 'home' may be an institution or group-home. Furthermore, people with disabilities who live in private homes may have support workers or family members organizing their time and space. At the other extreme, 'home' may be a place of isolation, and deprivation.

The second problematic assumption is that informal learning is an individual process. This implicit notion of the 'individual learner' is part of larger shift from education to learning (Ramdas, 1999), which depoliticizes learning. Applying theories of informal learning to social movements makes the theorization of political consciousness almost impossible. In his book on informal learning in social movements, Foley (1999) does not sufficiently deal with the power relations of race, class and gender in the cases he provides. Church, Fontan, Ng and Shragge (2000) have raised a critique of the individualized concept of informal learning, in which they posit 'social learning' as a way to reintroduce notions of diversity and community, however the analysis lends itself more readily to a social work perspective on the benefits of socialization and social integration than to an analysis of political learning. Their account of workplace learning among psychiatric survivors depoliticizes a highly politicized group.

With a view to addressing some of these issues, I interviewed working and underemployed artists and performers with disabilities who are affiliated with a theatre advocacy group. Members advocate for the inclusion of people with disabilities in the arts (as artists and audience members), arts education, and the workplace. I am a non-disabled ally of the group, and I have worked and performed with its members for the past three and a half years. Approximately fifteen artists have been involved in the group since its formation eight years ago. I interviewed four current members. These participants were able to provide a basis for considering informal learning from the standpoint of social and economic exclusion. Also, because the participants are part of the same advocacy group, the interviews as a data set can provide some clues about the collective and political dimensions of learning. Due to the politicized nature of being a performer with a disability, the participants are all at various times activists and spokespeople. All of the participants asked that they be credited when they are cited. In conducting the interviews, I used the same open-ended questionnaires on learning practices, and time-use surveys as the *Working Class Learning Practices* (WCLP) project, a study of informal learning at six unionized work sites led by David Livingstone.

I have chosen Dorothy Smith's (1997) standpoint method to analyze the interviews for three reasons. I originally adopted it because I was trying to uncover what was happening in people's lives that contradicted the literature on learning. Smith's standpoint method "begin[s] in people's experience" and "deals with what people do in the concrete settings of their lives, and how they talk about it" (Smith, 1997, p.128). Second, I found her notion of relations of ruling to be extremely helpful, since it allowed me to approach participants' stories both as testimony, and as evidence of power relations. Third, her notion of a 'trajectory of consciousness' provides a tool for acknowledging the role of ideologies in the reproduction of unequal social relations. Ideologies surrounding people with disabilities are particularly insidious, and include ideologies of individual deficit, dependency, and differential social worth. Using Smith's (1997) framework, participants' testimony can also be used to develop a critique of ways that the literature on learning is classed, raced, gendered and ableist; and ways that the literature assumes social exclusion and underemployment are results of a lack of learning credentials. The individualized concept of informal learning removes the learner from her social context, and her day-to-day life situation. Employing standpoint method to understand the data can also move us beyond a critique of individual notions of learning, to offer a theory of how people who experience disability oppression both *learn to engage in*, and ultimately *learn through* collective struggles against oppression.

Participants' stories reveal experiences of segregation and discrimination within formal schooling, and ways that disability intersects with notions of work and career. Participants described different ways that learning occurs: through individual survival, through collaboration, and through collective creation. Three of the participants had extremely limited access to informal learning opportunities at paid jobs, however they were able to document learning experiences in non-profit organizations. Since all four participants had post secondary credentials, it would seem that structural ableism, rather than lack of individual credentials, may be the cause of their underemployment. This finding echoes Robert Tobias' prediction that "[t]he vast majority are likely to become disillusioned with a search for qualifications within a shrinking global labour-market" (Tobias, 1999, p. 117). From this perspective, the project of valuing the life experiences of marginalized groups becomes nothing more than a way to incorporate them into the global market as 'skills' and 'knowledges' that can be put to use in capitalist work relations. The research process itself proved to be problematic, as it defined in advance that consciousness, or the process of 'knowing' was to be counted as 'learning'. The WCLP interview questionnaire asked respondents to document informal learning that was identified by the respondent as learning *at the time of the interview*. This is an important criterion, because it asks participants to retroactively consider our previous experiences, in a world that is increasingly driven by what is called a 'knowledge economy'. Disability rights activist Spirit Synott (see quote below) told me she was accustomed to recounting her life experiences, including her advocacy experience, as a process of skills acquisition, because she is trying to compete in an ableist labour market. In one of the other WCLP sites, a union local president told me that the previous union leadership had been recruited into management because of their skills in contract negotiation and knowledge of labour legislation. These stories indicate how an individualized theory of learning encourages the fragmenting of knowledge created in collective social movements into individual skill sets. The process of reconsidering one's life experience and political commitments as ways to remain competitive in selling one's labour can be interpreted as *alienation*.

Marx theorizes that alienation results when a person is separated from her material world because she does not have control over the work she engages in, and more importantly, she has no control over what she has produced. She is also separated from her fellow human beings, through competition, and through the impossibility of most forms of cooperation (Ollman, 1971, pp. 133-4). In order to see the role learning plays in alienation, we must consider how these new 'learnings' are deployed within capitalist relations of production. The documenting and credentializing of learning is underpinned by the logic of *human capital theory*, which assumes that the more you have learned (or the more capacity you have for learning), the more of an asset you will be for your organization. In a human capital formulation, the worker is compensated for the use of her critical thinking through higher wages, and a higher position. Critics of human capital point out that if the life experiences and learning of marginalized workers were recognized, they could attain equality with the higher paid managerial employees (Livingstone, 1997, p. 11). However, this critique leaves the organization's ownership of workers' learning unchallenged. In a Marxist understanding of relations of work, the worker cannot be confused with the idea of capital. To understand the relationship between the worker and capital, we must recognize that *labour power is a commodity* in the capitalist mode of production. As a commodity, labour power is subject to the law of supply and demand, and workers are in direct competition with one another to sell their labour. In this configuration, knowledge and skill acquisition can become part of the competition. The more the concept of 'learning' becomes synonymous with market requirements, the more it becomes commodified, and alienated from the learner.

> Having such a difficult time finding work opened my eyes to how people view people with disabilities. I've got a *great* resume, with an excellent volunteer and paid work record, so getting job interviews was no problem- they'd be on the phone so fast it wasn't funny. But as soon as I arrived for the interview, they would come up with imaginary difficulties. I would give them solutions for those difficulties, but it was like pulling teeth to get work (Synott, 1999, interview transcript).

Taking 'human capital' as the theoretical framework for understanding the role of learning in the political economy, gives a contradictory analysis to the results gained from a 'labour power as commodity' framework. If we take a 'human capital' approach, we assume that the greater one's learning capacity, the more wages one will be able to earn. If one subscribes to this understanding of learning, and one is concerned about equity, one might suggest several strategies: increase access to learning; document and give credit for informal learning; and increase workers' opportunities to use their learning at work so that their learning capacity and skills can be recognized. If we take a 'labour power as commodity' approach, however, we recognize that workers are not paid according to their intrinsic 'worth'. As a commodity, labour power is subject to the requirements of capital. From this standpoint we can see that recognizing informal learning merely expands the sphere that capital can exploit, which on a grand scale, increases the alienation and exploitation of human beings. These contradictory results are obtained by taking a dialectical approach to the issue, that is, looking below the surface appearance to the underlying relations. On the surface the first set of strategies seem logical, however, without an analysis of both exploitation of workers in the capitalists political economy, and an understanding of how disability oppression unfolds in relation to exploitation, it is difficult to explain why Spirit Synott's (quoted above) credentials aren't getting her a full time, well paying job. Using the standpoint method to examine stories about work and learning reveals that the notion of 'social exclusion' draws our attention away from recognizing social relations of oppression *and exploitation*.

Listening to respondents' stories led me to posit three types of non-school-based learning: survival, resistance and struggle. *Survival* learning is how individuals develop strategies to cope in a world that has been constructed to exclude them. Individuals may figure out a coping strategy on their own, or may learn about it from other members in their community or social group. *Resistance* learning is how an individual or group develops strategies to resist the ways that the world has been constructed to exclude them. *Struggle* learning is how a group develops an understanding of how their oppression has been constructed and reconstructed, and how a group develops counter-arguments and strategies to dismantle the oppression. Resistance is about meeting and opposing oppression in specific places that it affects you, while collective struggle is a process of identifying and seeking to change the social relations of oppression. It seems the concept of resistance is much more prevalent than the concept of struggle in social movement learning theory. Much of this can be traced to the popularity of Foucault's (1995) notion that multiple pathways of resistance exist on equal and opposite vectors as the multiple pathways of power. I would like to stress that it is important for people concerned with social justice to be able to make a distinction between *resistance*, which is about meeting and opposing oppression at the specific sites where it is manifested, and *struggle*, which involved identifying, grasping, and changing the conditions that produce the oppression that individuals and groups experience. Reflecting on his thirty years of experience as a disability rights activist, Kazumi Tsuruoka notes that

> The movement always focused on 'the self'- talking about it as a group, but always the self. Like self expression- we write plays where disabled folks tell people how they feel. It's easy to talk about getting out of the institution, and other safe issues like 'we want to get into buildings' and ' we want to work'. Since the 70's we've been talking about transportation and living on our own. What we need to focus on now is interpersonal relations, and political leadership, and mentoring our youth. That's how we will build the disabled movement (Tsuruoka, 1999, interview transcript).

I am not advocating that we should call engagement in political struggle 'learning'. I am suggesting that when learning theorists refer to 'learning from experience' and 'tacit learning' they are not talking about experiences of collective struggle; and when they talk about the content of learning, they are not talking about political consciousness. I am suggesting that this is the direction our research must take in order to counter the idea that human learning is for the purpose of competing in the job market. I propose instead a theory of learning that emerges from an understanding of consciousness, from the rich tradition of radical education theory and practice, and from participatory research methods that do not claim to be neutral. *Consciousness-raising* and *critical education* are the educational legacies of feminism, of trade unionism, of anti-racism, and of revolutionary struggle. Although feminist and Freirian education have been staples of adult education theory in the past, they have been steadily disappearing from the literature through the past decade (Ramdas, 1999). Feminist consciousness is rooted in collective debate, community problem solving, and solidarity. Consciousness-raising is a collective, grounded, group-defined process that is bound up in working toward a better existence for the group- *as a group*, not as the sum of its competing parts. Informal learning defined as skill acquisition and achievement is the antitheses of consciousness-raising. Bertel Ollman urges us to recognize the vast qualitative difference between individual and group consciousness, and the differences between mechanisms of change in consciousness (or the processes of learning) for a group, and for an individual. Group consciousness, whether it crystallizes around ideas of class, gender, race, nationality, ability, or sexuality, is always a dynamic, dialectic phenomenon. It is not a static or passive set of ideas, but a process or movement. Consciousness, then, has a direction, and can be progressive or regressive, and is ever moving toward or away from goals of democracy, justice, and equality (Ollman, 1993, pp. 147-179). By seeking to record examples of individual, politically neutral learning, the informal learning project becomes a *regressive* force in the struggle against social exclusion.

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Lifelong Learning: International Perspectives on Policy and Practice

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Abstract: This paper provides a critical reflection and assessment of the contemporary state and status of lifelong learning internationally. Specifically, it explores aspects of lifelong-learning discourse shared at new millennial gatherings in Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

Introduction

The advent of a new millennium provided impetus for critical reflection and assessment of the state and status of lifelong learning internationally. During the years 2000 and 2001 instrumental, social, and cultural perspectives on policy and practice--variously pervasive and variously taken up—were discussed at gatherings focused on the conceptualization and implementation of lifelong learning. At these gatherings, educators deliberated with policy makers and practitioners about the parameters and possibilities of lifelong learning. The upshot of these deliberations is that lifelong learning remains contested terrain in terms of its meanings, purposes, and desired outcomes in relation to learning for life and work. In this paper I explore aspects of the deliberative discourse of three international new millennial gatherings: (a) the 1st International Conference on Lifelong Learning, which was hosted by Central Queensland University, Rockhampton, Australia in July 2000 (hereafter called the Australia gathering); (b) the 2000 Global Colloquium Supporting Lifelong Learning and the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA 2001), which were parts of the UK Festival of Lifelong Learning (hereafter called the UK gathering); and (c) the International Conference on Lifelong Learning as an Affordable Investment, which was held in Ottawa in December 2000 and hosted by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and Canada (hereafter called the Canada gathering).

I use these conferences and colloquium as resources to investigate parameters and possibilities for inclusive, holistic learning for life and work. I begin by considering how lifelong learning has been conceptualized in a techno-scientized information society. Then, drawing on the discourses of the three international gatherings, I discuss three themes pervasive in the discourse of international lifelong learning. I conclude with a perspective on developing notions of critical lifelong learning.

Conceptualizing Lifelong Learning in a Techno-Scientized Information Society

In recent decades as corporate and government interests operated to meld the social and the economic into a new economics of survival that advanced their agendas, instrumental forms of learning have increasingly gained currency as learning with most worth. However, the products of such learning in a techno-scientized information society are all too often knowledge with time-limited worth and skills with time-limited utility. In his keynote address at the Australia gathering, Jarvis (2000) ties this state of affairs to the commodification of knowledge and the concomitant growth of knowledge societies in recent decades. Knowledge has become the instrument of advancement of national and global economies. Jarvis situates this emergence in terms of pivotal events in the 1970s and 1980s. He depicts the 1970s as a period of rapid expansion of the world market when the information technology revolution emerged to redefine trade and commerce. He portrays the 1980s as a decade when the process of globalization gained momentum, and the social and the economic were at least partially reconstituted in response to global corporatism and new technological advances that gave knowledge priority over skill. With these changes, the crisis in education has been posed as an economic one (Wexler, 1992). Education's viability is tied to the production of info-literate lifelong learners able to compete in and contribute to national and global economies. Education with most worth is education that aids and abets this production. Educators and learners operating in this milieu regard teaching, learning, and work as transactions where the preoccupations must be efficiency, accountability, and performativity. Apple (1988) has argued that overload and the erosion of inducements and privileges associated with teaching, learning, and work mark and mar these transactions. He asserts, "The process of control [and] the increasing technicization and intensification of the teaching act [amount to] the proletarianization of … [learning and] work" (p. 45).

This assertion suggests that the crisis in education is more than a crisis of the instrumental. It is a crisis of the social and cultural as well. Wexler (1992) maintains that, since at least the 1980s, the crisis in education is mainly a crisis of public life, a crisis of society and its institutions. He believes that education's most important role is in resolving the larger crisis in social life. In this light, educators, learners, and workers cannot merely run on learning treadmills where one transaction leads to another, where one lifelong-learning endpoint marks the start of another learning episode. Indeed this very activity can reduce lifelong learning to another burden, another source of anxiety. Thus lifelong learning should be about something more than building new time-limited techno-scientific knowledge and skill sets. While such an instrumental focus is important to help individuals put food on the table, lifelong learning also ought to be socially and culturally nourishing. From this perspective, Aspin and Chapman (2001), speaking at the UK gathering, highlight the need to rearticulate lifelong learning as inherently good learning that is prerequisite to holistic life and work. In other words, lifelong learning has to be located fundamentally as "a public good, for the benefit and welfare of everyone in society" (p. 39). This requires intersecting instrumental, social, *and* cultural learning to provide learners with broader knowledge and skill sets that advance work *and* life. Aspin and Chapman believe this is possible within what they call "the triadic nature of lifelong learning: for economic progress and development, for personal development and fulfilment, [and] for social inclusiveness and democratic understanding and activity" (pp. 39-40). Working with such multiple purposes for lifelong learning, we can work against essentialization of the concept's meaning as we focus on desired learning outcomes. We can begin this process by surveying how others use the term *lifelong learning,* examining "the circumstances in which various theories and policies of lifelong education have been articulated, developed and applied" (Aspin & Chapman, 2000, p. 13).

Three Themes Pervasive in the Discourse of International Lifelong Learning

Theme 1: Debating Private versus Public Responsibility for Lifelong Learning

In contemporary times, lifelong learning finds itself the subject of a private versus public debate regarding who is responsible for assuming the cost of lifelong learning. Providing a background paper for the Canada gathering, Verry (2000) discusses the basic argument shaping this debate: Lifelong learning for all will only be a reality with increased private funding in the face of more restricted public-sector financing and provision of lifelong learning. Verry also outlines the complexities of strategically and resourcefully enabling *lifelong learning for all* in OECD Member Countries.

> In contrast to other far-reaching reforms or new initiatives in education, the lifelong learning mandate changes many parameters at once. It implies quantitative expansion of learning opportunities; qualitative changes in the content of existing educational activities; qualitatively and quantitatively different learning activities and new settings, and changes in the timing of learning activities in the lifecycle of individuals. These developments imply, in turn, a strong likelihood of changes in the costs of providing and participating in education, training and learning activities, and increases in the total outlays by society for such activities. Constraints on and competition for public resources combined with the presence of substantial private returns to certain aspects of lifelong learning imply a need to increase the private share of the overall finance burden. (p. 6)

This dollars-and-cents debate only helps to reinscribe instrumental performativity as the raison d'être of learning for life and work. After all, it is a common perception that instrumental forms of learning offer learner-workers the kinds of knowledge and skills that help them at a micro-level to put food on the table and at a macro-level to support national and global economies. Providers of such economistic learning occupy a special place in these economies and, of course, they reap financial rewards. However, subscribing to this mindset can undermine opportunities for more inclusive, holistic lifelong learning. This is because the benefits of social and cultural forms of lifelong learning cannot always be measured in dollars and cents. As well, the possibility of reductionistic lifelong learning has been exacerbated by a post-9/11/01 climate of fiscal uncertainty and constraint pervasive throughout OECD Member Countries.

Theme 2: Positioning Lifelong Learning as a Permanent Global Necessity

In another background paper for the Canada gathering, Burke and his associates (2000) stress that the determination of resources, costs, benefits, and the burden of finance for lifelong learning poses an ultimate socioeconomic challenge. They provide this reason, "In contrast to initial formal education in OECD Member Countries, adult learning is open-ended with respect to the timing, venue, and duration of learning, the targets of policies, and their beneficiaries" (p. 6). Yet Burke and his associates are clear that this challenge has to be met. They list developments that increase the importance of learning for life and work. These developments include: (a) an aging workforce, (b) techno-scientific change forces, (c) globalization of the market, (d) the changing nature of work and new work patterns, and (e) underemployment or unemployment due to mismatches between supply and demand in terms of skilling the workforce. As well, they observe that the face of the workforce is also changing. White-collar work is now more prevalent than blue-collar work in the face of increased educational levels of workers that, ideally, increase chances of being employed and making higher wages.

> The strongest growth in employment [in OECD Member Countries] has been in producer and social services. From the mid-1980s through the late 1990s, the fastest growing sub-sectors of these have been Business and professional services and Health services with Educational services the next fastest. (p. 8)

Burke and his associates relate that these developments have been accompanied by a range of risk factors that include reduced standards of living, a decline in social cohesion, increased *fiscal drag* as a consequence of increased economic dependency, and constraints on the potential of economies to grow. These risks add to the blurring of any dividing line between the social and the economic. Perhaps the sorriest consequence of these changes and risks in many OECD Member Countries is the increasing alienation of a growing contingent of unemployed or underemployed individuals. Persons in this group can be seen to experience an erosion of their citizenship since being an active and supporting member of a nation is usually considered synonymous with being employed and paid. We need to ask: How will they find a way out of a dilemma created by absent or inadequate qualifications and competencies as they mediate a lifelong-learning maze marked by diversity in policies, programs, and institutional arrangements?

Theme 3: Rethinking the Composition of Education in a Techno-Scientized Information Society

There is an international trend to combine vocational training and academic studies in education in order to produce graduates with more extensive qualifications (Doughney, 2000; Verry, 2000). For example, in her paper for the Australia gathering, Doughney (2000) discusses how a higher education sector and a vocational education and training (VET) sector comprise tertiary education in Australia. She relates that this composite education attracts a much expanded, diverse body of learners who want to realize broader educational as well as vocational goals. However, supporting and implementing cross-sectoral lifelong learning has conditions for success. It requires particular policies that would enable the systemic and institutional frameworks needed to aid and abet such learning. For Doughney, such policy development involves deliberation about competing conceptions and philosophies of lifelong learning. It also involves interrogation of hegemonic utilitarian and economistic models of lifelong learning that have had currency in government and policy communities of Western nations during the last two decades. The effort may be worth it though. Cross-sectoral lifelong learning could offer a way to intersect instrumental, social, and cultural learning so that broader economic purposes may be considered in relation to inclusivity, active citizenship, and redistributive justice.

As educators, policy makers, and practitioners think about the parameters and possibilities of cross-sectoral learning, they need to focus on an important contemporary learning need: the need for information literacy in a techno-scientized information society. In her keynote address to the Australia gathering, Senn Breivik (2001) asserts that learners need to be able to access, evaluate, and productively use information to address issues and solve problems in their personal, civic, and work lives. She discusses information literacy as an encompassing concept and process that can include building computer, library, media, network, and visual literacies. Senn Breivik challenges institutions of formal learning to assume responsibility for preparing graduates who are info-literate and able to function in the many informal and nonformal learning situations where adults need to be able to discover, analyze, and problem solve. She believes that assisting graduates to build information literacy skills is a way to respond to calls from government, employers, professions, and students themselves for learners and workers who can "communicate well, think critically, [problem solve,] work well in teams, be flexible, or be lifelong learners" (p. 3). However, this is only one side of information literacy: Here information literacy is an enabler of lifelong learning as an instrumental, pragmatic response to contemporary institutional and professional interventions that seek to shape lifelong learning as a support for an emerging global economy. Information literacy, as Senn Breivik attests, should also be about people empowerment that locates an information literate citizenry as a discerning citizenry that demands universal access to technology and quality information.

Concluding Perspective

Lifelong learning has become a large-scale phenomenon in contemporary international education and culture. While knowledge and skills with most worth are often tied to issues of worker performance and productivity in this milieu, a contingent of critical educators, policy makers, and practitioners argue that lifelong learning has to be about something more. And many of them have made it something more by broadening its purposes and roles. In the process they have developed inclusive, holistic forms of education that meet the social and cultural as well as instrumental needs of lifelong learners who take on multiple and varied roles at home, at work, and in their communities. Moreover, they have shaped lifelong learning as a critical, deliberative space where culture-language-power issues are mediated from contextual, relational, and dispositional (attitudes, values, and beliefs) perspectives.

Developing a notion of critical lifelong learning in his colloquium contribution to the UK gathering, Griffin (2000) is part of the contingent that conceptualizes lifelong learning as something more. He presents contemporary meanings of lifelong learning as policy, strategy, and cultural practice. As policy, Griffin suggests that the meaning of lifelong learning can be partially linked to more measurable outcomes such as employability, human resource development, technological accreditation, and global competition. He sees this instrumental component of the meaning as coterminous with the advancement of public education and training. However, Griffin contends that the meaning of lifelong learning as policy also needs to be linked to less measurable outcomes like social inclusion, active citizenship, and the quality of life in sociocultural sites like educational institutions, families, communities, and workplaces. From this perspective, Griffith speaks to lifelong learning as strategy and as cultural practice. As strategy, Griffin locates the meaning of lifelong learning in the realm of individual responsibility and choice. Here the desire is to minimize state interference in individual life. The role of government is not to mandate education, but to provide the means and create the conditions to enable individuals to maximize their own learning across the life span. As cultural practice, the meaning of lifelong learning is found within cultural practices that are tied to disposition (attitudes, values, and beliefs) or behaviors (lifestyle practices). Here "the idea that learning is sited in everyday experience, and in the social relations of family, community and work, effectively distances it from public education and thus removes it from the realms of both policy and strategy" (p. 12).

For me, thinking about lifelong learning in terms of inclusive, holistic learning for life and work generates themes that are useful to (a) heed Paulo Freire's (1998) call to think the practice and (b) shape lifelong learning as a critical, composite learning project that supports adult learners as they negotiate changing life, learning, and work terrains. Four of these themes are: (a) Lifelong learning is an inclusive, holistic educational project shaped in the intersection of instrumental, social, and cultural education in home places, workplaces, and learning places; (b) Lifelong learning is a cultural practice where the influences of history and politics have to be taken into account as we deliberate lifelong learning for what and lifelong learning for whom; (c) Lifelong learning is an inter-disciplinary learning project shaped by discourses in areas of study that include not only the traditional (history, sociology, psychology, and philosophy) but also the transgressive (women's studies, queer studies, and cultural studies); (d) Lifelong learning is an educational project where matters of context, relationship, and disposition contour the learning terrain and frame its inclusionary and transformative characteristics.

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The Experiences and Practice of Adult Educators in Addressing Spirituality within the Workplace: An Empirical Study

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Abstract

This paper reports on life history research with 5 adult educators who work in a variety of workplace contexts. This research examined the experience and practice of these adult educators, as they were involved in the growing phenomenon of addressing spirituality within their workplace settings.

Introduction

Adult education theory has always emphasized that we teach the whole person; attending to the emotional, cognitive and physical needs of our learners. As a teacher of adults in various school and workplace settings, I have always tried to create and maintain learning situations that address these needs so my learners can flourish. As well as being an adult educator, I have always considered myself as a spiritual person; connecting with God and the universe around me through nature, retreats, attending church and private contemplation. For most of my life these two roles, adult educator and spiritual person, had run side by side on parallel tracks. I never anticipated that these two parallel tracks would begin to intersect and become one track that challenged me to incorporate my spirituality into my practice as an adult educator, especially in a workplace setting. However, several critical events in my life as well as my workplace context caused my thinking and my practice to shift. As I began to reflect on my journey as an adult educator and how my spirituality and my workplace have had an impact on my practice, I wondered if other adult educators were experiencing a similar change in their perspective and practice.

This paper reports on a study that examined the experience and practice of adult educators who are involved in the growing phenomenon of addressing spirituality within their workplace settings. The majority of the research that explores spirituality within the workplace has only occurred within the past decade and even though the field of adult education has begun to explore spirituality (Hunt, 1998; Westrup, 1998; English and Gillen, 2000; Tisdell, 1999 and Dirkx, 1997), we have only just commenced making connections to the workplace setting. In addition concern has been expressed as to whether it is appropriate to address the spiritual dimensions of learners in this setting (Fenwick and Lange, 1999). Like English and Gillen (2000), I believe that a spirituality that contributes to the common good, both within the workplace and in the larger community is a worthy endeavor.

The purpose of this inquiry was to listen to the voices of adult educators who are incorporating spirituality into their practice within their various workplace settings. Adult educators who work within this context are usually known as trainers, organizational and/or community developers and human resource consultants. More specifically this research explored a) how their spirituality impacted them in their roles as adult educators within their workplaces and b) how their workplaces' commitment and ability to address the spiritual dimensions of the organization impacted their roles.

Method

The research was qualitative in nature and employed a life history approach (Goodson, 1992; Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995; Measor & Sikes, 1992). This approach was well suited to this study because it made it possible to explore the personal and unique context of each adult educator's spirituality, how they bring their spirituality into their work and their understanding and view of spirituality within their workplaces. In-depth interviews were conducted with five adult educators who work in five different settings. Three work within large corporate settings, one works within an educational setting that has a religious affiliation and one adult educator works within a non-profit setting. As well as ensuring a diversity of workplace settings, the participants had to be current adult educators who had at least 5 years experience within the adult education field and at least 3 years adult education experience within their respective workplace settings. In addition, they had to believe that their practice and their workplace had evolved to incorporate spiritual dimensions and were interested in exploring the impact of this evolution.

In addition, in order to broaden my understanding of the experiences of my participants within their respective workplace settings, I also gathered data from two or three of the participants' co-workers and colleagues. Each participant was asked to provide me with a list of names of individuals who represented a cross section of people within their workplace. These colleagues had an opportunity to reflect upon changes within the organization and how they felt the spiritual dimensions were being addressed within the organization as a whole and through the adult learning opportunities.

Findings

The findings of this inquiry left me with two underlying impressions. First of all, the themes that emerged, particularly within the participants' spiritual journeys, mirrored my story and pushed my understanding of my spirituality to new horizons. Secondly, addressing the spiritual dimensions within a workplace reach beyond prescriptive techniques and processes and is a more complex and comprehensive undertaking as demonstrated by the stories of the participants and their workplaces colleagues. The analysis for this study concentrated on three areas: an exploration of the participants' spirituality, what their spirituality means to them in their practice as adult educators within their respective organizations and finally, how they and their colleagues view their respective organizations within a spiritual context.

An Exploration of the Participant's Spirituality

The participants, as they looked back on their own spiritual stories, began their exploration of this topic in the same way I did. They first reflected upon their childhood religion and considered the events that caused them to move away from this view of spirituality. Like myself, they retrieved and reclaimed positive aspects of their childhood faith, particularly the rituals and community of their faith. However, their view of spirituality was not just equated with religion, but moved beyond this equation to subsume religion under the broader context of spirituality. Erin described what this meant to her:

> They do intersect, religion and spirituality, but I see spirituality as being the umbrella area and religion falling under that. So in other words, my spirituality is my core relationship, my core beliefs, my meaning I bring to my life, my relationships with self, with others, with my God and religion would be how, in a formal way, I express that. So

> one, in other words, is more fundamental than the other. One is not better; they are just different concepts in my mind, the way they play out in my life. So I think that's why it has been freeing for me.

When they elaborated about what the umbrella of spirituality included, they described a connection to a higher presence, acknowledging the mysterious and unexplainable and being on an evolving and ongoing journey. They were able to be in touch with their spirituality in several ways. First of all, they emphasized the importance of listening to their inner voice. This voice provided direction and support and guided them in their future paths and decisions. Secondly, they attended to their spirit and soul by spending time in nature, by meditating and reflecting and by also exploring their creativity through poetry, writing and drawing. Third, their spirituality was also cultivated by having a community of friends and family that nourished this aspect of their being. In exploring the value of the community, they explained that part of their spirituality was about realizing that we are all interconnected. Being part of a community that was open, inclusive and generous fed a spiritual need.

Finally, the participants dwelt on times of crisis in their lives and made connections to their spirituality. The need for a community, the importance of listening to their inner voice and acknowledging inexplicable and mysterious forces within their lives became even more important during life's challenges.

Their Role as Adult Educators: Spiritual Grounding

The next component of the findings considers how the participants saw their spirituality impacting them in their roles as workplace adult educators. As Holly stated:

> This catches me by surprise because one of my pictures of spirituality is that it's a quiet, meditating, peaceful place. I suppose I have two poles around spirituality, one is that and I certainly need that replenishment for my own serenity and peace but then the other pole is this outreach, this proactive attempting to make the world a better place.

When they spoke about how their spiritual grounding impacted them as adult educators, their responses were much broader than I had imagined, and only partially focused on adult education processes they used within learning situations. Without exception, they stated that support of individual and group development was the central way they connected their spirituality to their work. In this supportive role, they spoke about using facilitative and non-directive processes and being a guide who provided a safe context so people could freely explore their stories and the path they needed to take. Stephanie called herself a nurturer in this role "because I want to help people learn, I want to help facilitate. I suppose if you're a good teacher or a good professor or a good corporate facilitator, you embody those things because you want each individual to be successful and not just complete your curriculum". Ultimately, Stephanie saw this work within the context of being a "spiritual advisor" as she and her colleague "look for opportunities to influence people at an individual level, and also influence departments".

For Danielle, the development of the individual was empowering them to take responsibility for their own community: the housing co-op. "Your role is to have them actually voice and use their democracy. Democracy is a nice model but it also needs responsibilities of voice and actively participating". Like Stephanie, she also saw herself doing this role in a facilitative and non-directive way, so that people could take responsibility for their direction.

In contrast to this gentle and facilitative role, the participants also spoke about the need to support people within their setting by moving against the tide of their workplace or the larger community. In this social advocacy role they lobbied their organization or the larger community to provide workplace places that allow people to bring to their creativity and passions to their work and to tend to the social fabric of workplace setting by providing effective supports such as training and leadership programs. They also reminded their organizations of their obligations to the local and global community in ensuring environmental practices and ethical decision making procedures were in place. As they undertook the role of social advocacy, their style became less facilitative and more assertive. They asked questions, they told the truth when others remained silent and directly confronted and worked through conflicts within their settings. Several of the participants mentioned the personal toll this exacted from them as they challenged the assumptions of their organizations. Mick said, "I mean I look at my own life, my situation and I question if this is the right life for me and maybe it's not. Maybe adult education is the right fit for me and maybe the corporate world it not. Maybe there are too many things I want and I can't wait any longer for them in a corporate world to accept".

The role of social advocate, for each participant, was directly related to their workplace's desire and ability address its spiritual dimensions. As the workplace's ability and desire to address its spiritual dimensions increased, the role of social advocacy decreased and conversely, the role of social advocacy increased if the adult educators felt the workplace did not honour the spiritual dimensions of the workplace.

As mentioned previously, the participants viewed the incorporation of spirituality within the workplace as being much broader than specific techniques and processes connected with learning situations. However, all the participants did recollect specific times when they felt that they were in a "soulful space". With the exception of Erin who works in an overtly religious setting, they did not enter into a workshop or seminar intentionally thinking that they would create a "spiritual experience". However, as they looked back on these moments, there were certain times and processes that seemed to cultivate these times. Activities associated with change management, leadership development and the identification of organizational values were samples of events that demanded the deep reflection and full engagement of individuals and groups. As the participants guided these events, they cited the importance of establishing a trusting atmosphere, asking open-ended questions and using the processes of storytelling and open and honest dialogue.

When "spiritual moments" happened in these contexts, participants used the following phrases to describe what happened. "There is a breakthrough, meaning that the mask slips a little and people are more authentic". "People are personally transformed and they see the world differently". "There is a deeper sense of community and connectedness within the group". "People feel they can voice their fears, they can be open and the truth comes out".

The Soul and Spirit of Each Workplace: The Views of Participants and Their Colleagues

The final component of the analysis puts the spiritual journeys and the work of the participants within the framework of their various organizations. It was important to have this broader view because, while the participants' personal spiritual experiences had an impact on how they viewed and implemented their role as adult educators, it was only part of the picture. The ability and challenges these adult educators faced as they tried to address the spiritual dimensions of their workplace were also informed by the mandate of their workplaces and its desire and willingness to be "spiritually" infused. In reviewing the responses of the participants and their colleagues as they described what spirituality within the workplace consists of it became apparent that their descriptions impacted all aspects of the organization.

They all emphasized how it important it is to have a sense of vocation and passion about their work. Ideally this passion would be fully expressed in a workplace culture that encouraged creativity and risk taking. Supports that would be in place so that people could be effective would include various training and wellness programs such as leadership programs, board development training, and career development programs. In addition the workplace would demonstrate that it values balance between work and home by having supports and programs in place that foster outside volunteer commitments and the other roles in people's lives. The underlying assumption about providing these supports is that the organization values people and also has base line wages and benefits in place that demonstrate that they are willing to invest in their people.

Spirituality within the workplace also recognizes the importance of a sense of community both within and beyond the workplace. While the participants and their colleagues all appreciated the informal relationships and community they had at work, several indicated that they felt that their organizations were not as intentional as they could be in cultivating community. The challenges of a fast-paced work environment with high demands make this difficult. A sense of community beyond the workplace was described as participation in community charities and in environmental policies and decision-making practices that go beyond looking at the profit margin to considering the impact on the larger community.

Finally, all the participants and their colleagues understood that the transfer of their organization's values into day to day practice was probably pivotal in being able demonstrate that spirituality had been infused into the workplace. While all the organizations in this inquiry had undergone the process of articulating values that foster many of the qualities already listed above, the implementation of these values was inconsistent.

The participants and their colleagues were very similar in their views of what a spiritually infused organization was, but there was some variance in each organization's willingness to implement the spiritual dimensions described above. As mentioned previously, this impacted the amount of time and energy each participant spent in the role of social advocacy.

Conclusions and Implications for Practice

At the conclusion of this inquiry I realize that there is no pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, a place where answers are tidy and complete. Spirituality and how adult educators address the spiritual dimensions of the workplace are elusive concepts, where definitive answers are not readily available. However, I have discovered some guideposts that have had an impact on both my own spiritual journey and how my spirituality informs my practice within a variety of workplace settings.

Specifically, this study has revealed the following characteristics that enhance the adult educator's ability to impact the spiritual dimensions of their workplace in a positive and inclusive manner. The adult educator who has an open, evolving and inclusive perspective about their own and others' spirituality, rather than a perspective that is limited to specific religious view, helps create a culture of spirituality that is more humane and inclusive within their workplace. In addition, the adult educator also understands that their spirituality is not only limited to their personal rituals and time, but realizes that their spirituality is something that impacts all aspects of their life including their work life. When they consider how their spirituality impacts their vocation, they bring a sense of social justice to their work as they ensure that their workplace is a place that supports individuals and groups and also operates in a just and ethical manner.

I have come to realize that this open and inclusive perspective of spirituality evolves and is something that is acquired throughout our life journey. While the fit isn't perfect, this broadening view of our spirituality can be associated with movement into mid-life. I now understand that part of my motivation in doing this study is connected to my own mid-life journey in exploring my spirituality. As I listened to the participants in this study I found a great resonance with the stories and the questions they were asking. Their ages were similar to mine and it appeared they were on the same journey as I. Fowler (1981) and Weisbust and Thomas (1994) all make connections to our mid-life journey, stating that "transforming spiritual development appears to be age-related but not age-determined. That is, it appears more frequently in older persons, but can be found in younger people" (Weisbust and Thomas, p. 132). In addition to the loose correlation with middle age, this type of spiritual journey requires an ongoing ability to be self-reflective and self-aware, qualities I found in all my participants. They were all doing the work that Fenwick and English (2001) recommend. "One place to start is by examining our own biography. For many of us it is important to acknowledge and perhaps reconcile the influence of our religious upbringing on our current spiritual preferences and resistances" (p.7). Ideally, if we are open to an evolving and inclusive spirituality, we will then bring a spirituality into our workplaces that is inviting and nurturing toward individuals and groups, but is also challenging and assertive in ensuring that our workplaces model a holistic spirituality.

While the adult educator needs explore their motivations for addressing the spiritual dimensions of the workplace, we also need to understand the motivations of our workplaces as we move into this area. Just as our own view of spirituality greatly informs and has an impact our practice, our workplace context informs and has an impact on how we address the spiritual dimensions of our workplaces. When I consider the workplace context, I would want to know why the workplace is addressing its spiritual dimensions. If an organization sees spirituality as the latest trend or bandwagon or as another way to boost its profits, I would get very nervous. Mitroff and Denton (1999) caution organizations about their motivations for "getting into spirituality" by stating that those who practice spirituality in order to achieve better corporate results undermine both its practice and its ultimate benefits. To reap the positive benefits of spirituality, it must be practiced for its own sake" (p. xviii). Spirituality is not just a technique, and if it is taken on authentically, it will address all aspects of an organization. As I interviewed the participants and their workplace colleagues I was struck by their all encompassing view as they moved from individual vocation to the importance of community, workplace balance and ethical and environmental practices.

Assuming adult educators bring a holistic and broad view of spirituality into the workplace, they will be greatly affected by their organization's perspective of spirituality and its level of commitment to addressing its spiritual dimensions. This is particularly true if we as adult educators realize that our role in addressing the spiritual dimensions of our workplaces is not just limited to times when we are facilitating and leading groups. It is also about advocating and challenging organizations to assume a holistic practice in addressing its spiritual dimensions, from treating colleagues as authentic and multi-dimensional people, to ensuring that their workplace has ethical and environmental practices in place.

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Anyone for Parfait? Contradictions and Discontinuities in Participatory Evaluation

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Abstract: An evaluation process based on participatory ideals encountered contradictions leading to evaluation anxiety, a modified design, and two tiers of evaluation reports. The shifting dimensions of participation in this case study underscore the importance of context and negotiation in distributing power among participants.

Is participatory evaluation an all-or-nothing proposition? Participatory evaluation is not a set of techniques and methods for accountability and making judgements. It is a context-specific process of engagement that requires flexibility, facilitation skills, and ongoing critical self-reflection on the part of the evaluator. Its participatory process builds teaching, learning, and the generation of knowledge into the development of projects and organizations. But like other participatory forms of research, the ideals of participatory evaluation often encounter obstacles in practice. Instead of smoothly consistent participation, the evaluation process can result in a layered parfait-like product.

During an ongoing suicide prevention demonstration project in B.C., an evaluation process that was based on participatory ideals quickly found itself grappling with how to meet expectations of efficiency, timeliness, and relevance. This paper outlines a critical dialogue about those issues between project evaluator and graduate student Jerry Hinbest and fellow UBC student Lynette Harper. After briefly describing the evaluation project, we will analyze its participatory approach to reveal effects and limitations. We conclude by identifying appropriate conditions for the effective use of participatory evaluation, based upon a comparison of theoretical literature with the practical lessons learned from this project.

The "Putting Best Practices Into Action" Project

The "Putting Best Practices Into Action" project addressed the complex problem of youth suicide. Its dual purpose was to provide an opportunity to implement a set of innovative suicide prevention strategies using a demonstration project format, and to conduct research about the approaches and their implementation. While the project supported B.C. communities in applying 'Best Practices' strategies from a new manual, it also undertook original research to improve understanding of what works, and in which community contexts. The project was administered by the Suicide Prevention Information and Resource Centre (SPIRC) housed in the UBC Department of Psychiatry, and was funded by the B.C. Ministry of Children and Families. Seven communities throughout B.C. took part in the project, implementing eight distinct 'Best Practice' strategies. The research for the project took the form of a participatory evaluation, which focused primarily but not exclusively on formative issues.

The evaluation design relied upon local community participants to take primary responsibility for initiating and undertaking evaluation work related to their local project activities. The project evaluator provided support from a distance through one- and two-day workshops, ongoing telecommunications, and site visits. Throughout the process, the evaluator's role continually shifted between teacher, mentor, facilitator, planner, liaison, and researcher. He served as both the memory and the conscience of the project.

The initial efforts to be supportive appeared to increase anxiety about the evaluation role in some local communities. At the end of the first one-day workshop emphasizing evaluation methods, local representatives expressed significant uncertainties about their role in conducting the evaluation. The process was further complicated by high staff turnover in the first few months of the project. Some communities developed evaluation subcommittees that shared the work over the short (one year) duration of the project. But most communities hired a coordinator who took on a double workload of implementing the best practices and conducting the evaluation. Expectations that computer-mediated communications could readily provide support to coordinators in remote locations encountered an unexpected obstacle: several communities had limited Internet access, and could not receive attachments or in some instances e-mails. Their doubts about doing the evaluation work foundered on these practical difficulties. To address their concerns a second community workshop was conducted half way through the implementation phase to support planning and network development instead of technical aspects of evaluation. But it seemed like it was 'too little, too late' for several participants, most of them newcomers whom had not attended the first workshop.

The Evaluation Product

The evaluation had two goals: to improve projects at the local level, and to gain understanding so that government, the administering agency SPIRC, and local communities across B.C. could better facilitate community-based projects in the future. From the beginning, the intention was for each project to prepare summary site reports that would describe in detail the implemented activities that were undertaken. These reports were described as evaluation reports at the project level, and were intended to address and discuss community-specific issues. A broader evaluation report that encompassed all seven projects and looked at comparative data and issues was to be prepared by the evaluation consultant.

Each community did prepare a report, and these varied greatly in terms of their sophistication, level of detail, and focus on evaluation issues. Most provided local community context, and were in part a historical record of the project activities. While some communities developed good data collection approaches, others had major problems that ranged from idiosyncratic instruments that couldn't be compared with other projects, to losing or destroying collected data prior to having it processed or analyzed. A few communities simply did not collect the data.

The reports produced at the local level were too inconsistent to make the inter-community comparisons required by the second goal. But the evaluator was required to produce a report that included comparative data. To do this, the 'after-the-fact' data collection through on-site focus groups and interviews in local communities, which was to be part of the total evaluation, ended up playing a much more prominent role in the final evaluation report than initially anticipated.

Though this overall report was conducted in a manner that gave more control to the evaluator, a participatory dimension was maintained through consultation. The first round of issue definition, project description, and results summaries were shared with local communities, who had a veto concerning the representation of their activities and projects in the final report. Most projects went through a process in which their lead contact reviewed draft sections of the report, and in about half of the communities shared this with other members of the local steering committee or working group. After the report was signed off in this manner, the draft report was shared with the SPIRC project manager, who shared the completed report with government representatives.

The changes requested by local communities were mostly minor corrections and clarifications of project activities. In a few cases, discussions about project descriptions or difficulties were altered to respect privacy issues while sharing the hard-won learning that took place in the projects. Only one community requested a substantive change to the description and recommendations, and like all the other requests, it was incorporated into the report.

The project manager requested a different kind of change, to ensure that important evaluation issues were discussed and put into context. She was concerned about how certain audiences would receive the report, particularly the medical practitioners who were already skeptical about these best practices for suicide prevention. As she expected that they would be looking for summative results that judged the worth of the whole program, the overall report included summative recommendations.

The changes requested by the government representative were exclusively concerned with those recommendations, and particularly recommendations about resources. To meet government concerns, the recommendations were renamed "considerations" and any focus on resource implications was softened.

The dual goals of the evaluation were considered compatible and complementary at the beginning of the project. But in practice there was friction between the local goals to implement specific best practices and find out what worked in each community, and the broader goal of gaining understanding for future programming at the provincial level. The friction between these purposes resulted in two tiers of evaluation. The community reports were reframed as Project Summary Reports, while the overall report was formally presented and published on the Internet as the Evaluation Report. This textual hierarchy of report findings initiated a process of negotiation between communities, program administration, and government funders. While the Project Summary Reports were accepted intact, the Evaluation Report content was contested, exposing its higher status and previously hidden internal and external influences shaping each group's participation.

The Evaluation Process

Despite pressures for a more familiar and conventional approach to evaluation at every stage of the project, the original commitment to a participatory approach was maintained. For the explicit developmental purposes of this project, participation was intended to support and enhance practical and immediate (instrumental) use of the evaluation. Taking this participatory approach broke new ground for the project evaluator, the program manager, and the government ministry that funded the project. But from the evaluation consultant's perspective, the evaluation turned out to be 'less participatory' in practice than was originally hoped and intended.

Participation in any kind of research means not only taking part, but also sharing in the research enterprise. The participation concept has been used to represent a range of involvement, from token representation and researcher control to full participation and shared or community control. To examine this project, we use a definition of participation that is gaining currency among many advocates of participatory evaluation: "shared decision-making through an informed, flexible and negotiated distribution of power among participants in a process"

(Greene, 1994). In this approach, sharing in decision-making opens the possibilities for a sense of ownership and responsible agency in the production of knowledge.

To analyze the degree of participation in this project, we used Cousins and Whitmore's (1998) chart of participatory dimensions (see Figure 1). It identifies three dimensions: who participates, who controls the process, and the level of participation. The processes resulting in two tiers of reports can be placed at a different position in this chart. The Project Summary Reports represent 'medium-high' participation, as they involved citizen control, a full level participation (full citizen involvement in design, data collection, and analysis), and a wide range of participants in the community. There was minimal involvement of the program manager and funder in these Reports. Though this is common practice in community-based development projects, it effectively circumscribes the influence of the evaluation at the local level. The evaluator and program manager served as gatekeepers for the Project Summary Reports by selecting pieces for incorporation into the more widely disseminated Evaluation Report.

The overall Evaluation Report was the result of 'low' or 'medium-low' participation. It was marked by researcher control, and the level of participation varied widely for different kinds of stakeholders. The program manager was a full participant, while citizen participation was token except for their first phase review and later veto of the Report text.

When is participatory evaluation appropriate?

In hindsight, this participatory evaluation project was weakened by many contextual factors, including its participants' lack of experience with either evaluation or participation. This case affirms research that suggests that participatory approaches to evaluation and research are less likely to be effective when:

- there are insufficient resources and time. Participatory approaches are complex, making special demands on researchers and participants for developing mutual respect, for learning, dialogue, discussion and negotiation at every stage, and for reflection and action. In this project, the limited timeframe and resources were further complicated by distance. Over and over again, participants spoke of conducting the Best Practices project "off the side of my desk". The evaluation itself was being conducted "off the side of the side of my desk".
- it is conducted in unstable organizational environments. In this case, the level of commitment to, understanding of, and expertise in the evaluation component was confounded by the high participant turnover experienced in this project.
- findings are intended for generalizing results or large scale policy research. (based on Chambers, 1997; Green et al, 1995; Norton, 1998; Pursley, 1996; Whitmore, 1998)

Participatory evaluation and research is likely to be more effective when:

- it generates local knowledge for local use
- it involves skilled and sensitive researchers
- there is a receptive context, where everyone supports the purpose of the research and a participatory approach
- in open and democratic organizations and environments.

(based on Brown & Tandon, 1993; Norton, 1998; Whitmore, 1998)

Anyone for parfait?

The participation 'report card' for this project appears to affirm a popular view that participation is most compatible with local developmental purposes, and less compatible with program management and policy-making needs. But that interpretation is simplistic. A degree of participation in design, implementation, dissemination, and use of the evaluation findings was achieved by maintaining two levels of evaluation process and reporting.

Attempts to create a high level of participation throughout the project resulted in a separation into two distinct levels - rather like a parfait, a dessert made up of layers of ice cream, crushed fruit, etc., in a glass. The element of participation dispersed and separated into little pieces as it encountered contradictions between the democratic and methodological goal of participation and the ideal of efficiency, the competing demands of the implementation and the evaluation, and the differing requirements of local and program levels.

What are the implications of serving parfait to local communities, program developers and implementers, and evaluators? Must participation inevitably emerge in differing layers, as it did in this project - or can participatory evaluators concoct a stable suspension to keep contradictions and discontinuities in dynamic and productive tension?

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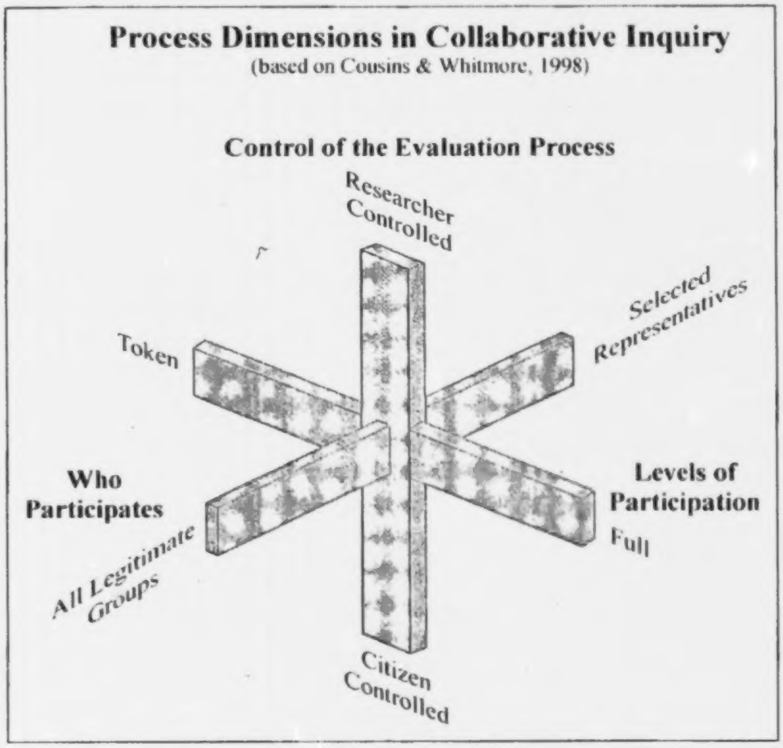
Figure 1. Dimensions in participatory and collaborative inquiry



Global, Local and Individual Learning Environments: An Environmental Model Integrating Adult Learning Theories

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Abstract: This paper presents the development of a model. The *Environmental Model of Adult Learning* consists of three interrelated learning environments: *individual* (within you), *local* (with you) and *global* (all about you). The environmental backdrop supports the purposeful effort to organize or map the research territory of *adult learning*.

Introduction

Learning

"We are born to learn" (McInnis, 1972, p.24). Learning is universal. Kidd introduced the term *Mathetics* – the science of behavior of people learning – to describe "a home for all that is significant for adult learning" (p.4). Learning is for all of us. As Palmer (1998) quotes T.H. White:

> "The best thing for being sad," replied Merlyn… "is to learn something. That is the only thing that never fails. You may grow old and trembling in your anatomies, you may lie awake at night listening to the disorder of your veins,… you may see the world around you devastated by evil lunatics, or know your honor trampled in the sewers of baser minds. There is only one thing for it then – to learn. Learn why the world wags and what wags it. That is the only thing which the mind can never exhaust, never alienate, never be tortured by, never fear or distrust, and never dream of regretting. Learning is the thing for you" (p.141 and p.161).

Environments

"We are born to learn how to succeed with our environments" (McInnis, 1972, p.24). McInnis' (1972) discourse on teaching/learning environmental attitudes provides the environmental backdrop of the model proposed in this paper. The systems perspective he describes suggests that all environments are part of larger environments and/or are made up of smaller environments: change to one environment means change to other environments. The *Environmental Model of Adult Learning* consists of three interrelated learning environments: *individual* (within you), *local* (with you) and *global* (all about you). Based on a systems perspective: learning in one environment means learning in other environments. This idea forms the basis of integrating adult learning theories.

Background and Purpose

Kidd wrote, "One of the reasons that our understanding about adult learning is much less than it could have been is that the study of the problems has rarely been organized in any effective way" (p.6). By integrating several adult learning theories, the *Environmental Model of Adult Learning* (*EMOAL*) offers the beginnings of an effective way to organize or map the problems in adult learning. The multiplicity of adult learning theories that actually exist can also be integrated into this framework to provide a cohesive common ground where adult educators pool knowledge, understanding and resources about adult learning.

EMOAL can be considered a concept map or graphic organizer: it is a visual tool that facilitates conceptualization and, in turn, comprehension. It comes at a time of "renewed interest in mapping the field of adult education" – Rubenson (2000) revisited his map of the adult education research territory – to "better understand and frame the field". The two previous citations are from CASAE 2001 papers titled "Canadian Research in Adult Education in The 1990's: A Cautious Cartography" (Fenwick, Butterwick & Mojab, p.1) and "Graduate Students' Perspectives on Adult Education" (Nesbit & Taylor, p.3), respectively.

There is at least one key difference between the types of mapping described in the two papers mentioned above and the type of mapping used by this model.

The first mapping project is a comprehensive effort to find out: "what persists, what has disappeared, what has emerged and what has not been addressed" (Fenwick, Butterwick & Mojab, 2001, p.6) in the field of adult education; trends in, for example, topics, paradigm shifts, research methodologies and conceptual and theoretical approaches are investigated.

The second study asks beginning graduate students to the field of adult education to develop definitional journals and concept maps describing the field. One favored way of structuring their concept map resembles a family tree, with the term "adult education" at the top and narrower concepts branching downward. The process of creating concept maps encourages theorizing, meaning-making and learner agency (as was my experience when creating this model).

In contrast to the two mappings just described, *EMOAL* takes on at least one of the main qualities expected of a geographical map: relative spatial location is relevant. Such a structure supports the purposeful effort to make concrete connections among adult learning theories. Integrative efforts of this kind are resurfacing, but lacking in the field.

Adult Learning Theories

Individual Learning Environments

Individual learning takes place within us. Each of us is an environment or *humanvironment* (McInnis, 1972, p.54). *Perspective transformation*, one of the most dominant adult learning theories, relates to individual learning.

We each have our own *meaning perspective*. Mezirow (1978) describes a meaning perspective in several ways: It "refers to the structure of cultural assumptions within which new experience is assimilated to – and transformed by – one's past experience. It is a personal paradigm for understanding ourselves and our relationships" (p.101). It "is an integrated psychological structure with dimensions of thought, feeling and will" (p.108).

Paulo Freire believes that adult education is the catalyst for perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1978, p.103). In other words, through adult education we develop a critical awareness – a process Freire termed *conscientization* – of our own meaning perspective. We realize "how we are caught in our own history and are reliving it", and with resolve challenge "the roles we play in completing our assigned tasks and in meeting social expectations" (Mezirow, 1978, p.101). Our old meaning perspective can be transformed by *perspective taking*, i.e., taking the perspective of others. When our old meaning perspective is transformed, we often gain greater control over our lives and reprioritize our personal and social action decisions, all within a new meaning perspective.

Throughout our lifetime, "we move through successive transformations toward analyzing things from a perspective increasingly removed from one's personal or local perspective, a process Jerome Bruner calls 'decentration'" (Mezirow, 1978, p.104). This is also Mezirow's

(1978) idea of maturity: "Maturity may be seen as a developmental process of movement through the adult years toward meaning perspectives that are progressively more inclusive, discriminating and more integrative of experience… Maturity holds the promise that becoming older may indeed mean becoming wiser because wisdom can mean interpreting reality from a higher perspective" (p.106).

Local Learning Environments

Local learning takes place with us. As we learn, others within the same environment learn with us. Local learning relates to *communities of truth/communities of congruence* (Palmer, 1998, p.90/p.166) and social change.

Taking the perspective of others – perspectives increasingly removed from one's personal or local perspective and progressively more inclusive, discriminating and more integrative of experience – and the learning that comes with a perspective transformation (as described above) is limited within the individual unless *action* is taken.

A decision on whether and how to act is based on maturity – perhaps a desire "to live '*divided no more*'" (Palmer, 1998, p.166) – and learning roles/social relationships, among other factors.

Thomas describes two *learning roles – studentship* and *membership* – and how learning is related to social change. The student role, which refers to an individual receiving an education from a formal institution, "is dependent, individual, self-conscious, market-oriented in the sense of purchasing a service, and self-centered" (Thomas, p.70). The relationship of the student is primarily to the institution, who determines what is learned and evaluates how well it is learned. The learning environment is a competitive one. Student learning is static and orderly in nature; it supports the status quo, but may also be a source of mild social reform.

According to Thomas, "in the past, and in the present, and probably in the future, far more adult learning is accomplished in the *member* role than in the *student* role" (p.68). The member role refers to an individual choosing to associate with a group to achieve a collective goal. The group or leadership of the group determines the content of learning. The individual is committed to learn the knowledge, skills and attitudes that will contribute to the specific group goal. Membership learning is dynamic and revolutionary in nature; it is the primary source of fundamental social change.

We challenge our roles when we encounter our old meaning perspective for the first time. When our old meaning perspective is transformed, we reprioritize our personal and social action decisions. The learning roles we challenge or choose to live out has varying impact on society.

Mezirow (1978) discusses two types of social relationships – *contractual relationships* and *organic relationships* – that parallel Thomas' learning roles. In contractual relationships, like studentship, the emphasis is on the individual rather than the group. In organic relationships, like membership, life is lived according to the specific goals, including values, rules, customs and expectations, of the community.

Community grows from the inner ground of an individual: "only as we are in communion with ourselves can we find community with others. Community is an outward and visible sign of an inward and invisible grace, the flowing of personal identity and integrity into the world of relationships" (Palmer, 1998, p.90). Mezirow (1978) even suggests, "One must become dissociated from an organic relationship with society to move along the gradient of perspective transformation" (p.106). While the inner landscape must be "protected", Palmer (1998) continues, "The hallmark of the community of truth is in its claim that *reality is a web of communal relationships, and we can know reality only by being in community with it*" (p.95).

Palmer's (1998) model of educational reform consists of four stages. The first stage relates to individual learning environments, the second stage to local learning environments, and the third and fourth stages to both local and global learning environments:

> *Stage 1*. Isolated individuals make an inward decision to live "*divided no more,*" finding a center for their lives outside of institutions.
>
> *Stage 2*. These individuals begin to discover one another and form *communities of congruence* that offer mutual support and opportunities to develop a shared vision.
>
> *Stage 3*. These communities start *going public*, learning to convert their private concerns into the public issues they are and receiving vital critiques in the process.
>
> *Stage 4*. A system of *alternative rewards* emerges to sustain the movement's vision and to put pressure for change on the standard institutional reward system (p.166).

Egan's (2001) grassroots model of change consists of six stages; the first, *coalescence*, parallels Palmer's communities of congruence. Moreover, "Grassroots activism is rooted in the principle of *action*" (p.5). Adult learning within environments is also rooted in *action*.

Global Learning Environments

Global learning takes place all about us. "Humankind is a global environment" (McInnis, 1972, p.57). Global learning relates to the world and global change.

Global education (Selby & Pike, 2000) expands the education-for-all vision from basic learning to empowerment of the individual. *Worldmindedness* is the underlying concept: encountering and understanding diverse perspectives (decentration) promotes self-discovery and self-fulfillment, processes that, in turn, encourage "constructive change on a global scale" (p.140).

Critical postmodernism emerged as an alternative theory to perspective transformation and other adult learning theories, such as self-directed learning, that focus primarily on the individual and claim universal representation. Flannery (1995) points out: "Adult learning theory must include, along with self-directed learning, the place of other-directed learning, of collaboratively directed learning, of community-directed learning, of global processes of engaging in perspective transformation, and other ways of learning that people and cultures use" (p.156).

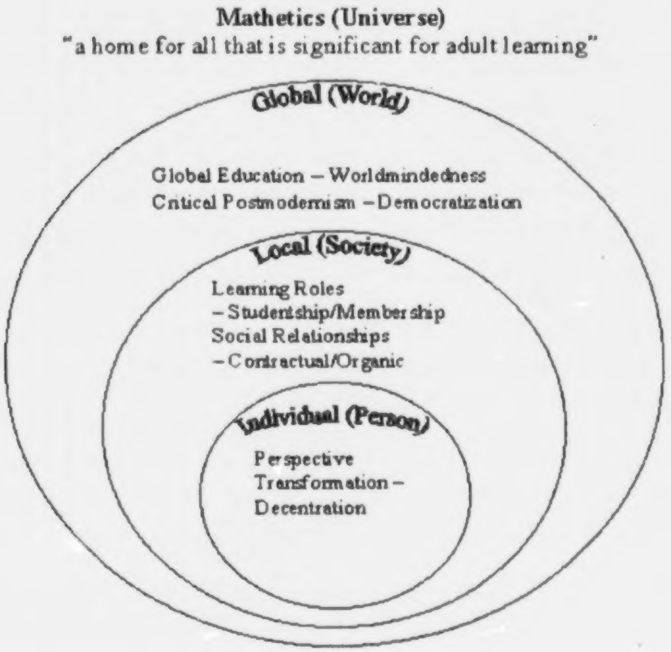
Critical postmodernism also emphasizes the empowerment of the individual. Its goal "is toward *democratization*, which is the process that accepts and empathizes with difference, seeks to emancipate and transform society through shared struggle (Flannery, 1995, p.154). Moreover, education as emancipatory can "free people from personal, institutional and environmental forces that prevent them from seeing new directions, from gaining control over their lives, their society and the world" (Flannery, 1995, p.149).

Buber (1965) makes a clear distinction between an *individual* and a *person*:

> An individual is just a certain uniqueness of a human being. And it can develop just by developing with uniqueness. This is what Jung calls individuation. He may become more and more an individual without becoming more and more human. I know many examples of man having become very, very individual, very distinct from others, very developed in their such-and-suchness without being at all what I would like to call a man. The individual is just this uniqueness; being able to be developed thus and thus. But a person, I would say, is an individual living really with the world. And *with* the world, I don't

> mean *in* the world – just in *real contact*, in real reciprocity with the world and all the points in which the world can meet man. I don't say only with man, because sometimes we meet the world in other shapes than in that of man. But this is what I would call a person and if I may say expressly Yes and No to certain phenomena, I'm *against* individuals and *for* persons (p.184).

An Environmental Model of Adult Learning



Integration and Implications

Integration

The ripple effect of adult learning within environments, from individual, to local, to global, can be described as follows (indeed, in practice, the process is complex and nonlinear):

> old meaning perspective → catalyst: adult education → conscientization → challenging roles → perspective taking → perspective transformation → new sense of identity within a new meaning perspective → new personal and social action decisions → successive transformations → decentration and maturity → action → community → social change → worldmindedness and democratization → global citizens (persons) → global change.

When action is taken, learning within an individual in the context of a perspective transformation extends outward to the community. Together, they can lead social change. A worldminded and empathetic community can lead global change.

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Implications

Perspective transformation is primarily about learning that takes place within an adult individual. As we mature, we take on a perspective that is increasingly removed from our personal or local perspective; through the process of *decentration*, our perspective becomes more global. Implication: If adult education is indeed the catalyst for perspective transformation, then adult educators are responsible for facilitating the maturation process perhaps by stimulating awareness and discussion of global issues.

A perspective transformation can be triggered when we challenge the *roles* we have been reliving. A new meaning perspective may mean a new sense of identity and new personal and social action priorities. Implication: Thomas described two *learning roles – studentship* and *membership* – in which individuals learn, and how the learning in those roles effect social change. Further research into other roles is needed, not only because challenging roles can lead to a perspective transformation, but also because some roles have more power to effect social change than others.

Critical Postmodernism, with its empowering, emancipatory and transforming agenda, extends the relationship of self to society to the world; through the process of *democratization*, beyond expanding our perspective, from personal to communal to world, we begin to, in Flannery's words, accept and empathize with difference, and seek to emancipate and transform society through shared struggle. Implication: According to Mezirow (1978), personal development occurs when we choose and decide, even when deciding not to act (p.105). Critical postmodernism reminds us, especially as adult educators, that it is only through taking responsibility for our learning and acting on our learning that we can also promote the personal development of others and the development of societies and the world.

Global Education is about education for all, specifically empowering individual learners to "respond constructively to the challenges of global citizenship" (Selby & Pike, 2000, p.142). *Worldmindedness* (similar to an increasingly global perspective) fosters personal development with the goal of effecting not only social change but also change on a global scale. Implication: The ultimate goal of adult educators is to help individuals mature and become constructive global citizens or *persons* as Buber defines them.

Conclusion

Both McInnis and Selby & Pike emphasize the need for integration in our research:

"It is obvious today that we can no longer think in terms of single static entities – but only in terms of dynamic changing processes and series of interacting events. The content of our education, the bulk complexity and detail of our knowledge, requires restructuring into assimilable wholes so that it may be imparted, even at the primary levels, in terms of whole systems" (McInnis, 1972, quoting John McHale on the back cover of his book).

"Complete understanding is derived not from studying the atom, the person or the nation in isolation, but only in relation to all other phenomena with which they are connected" (Selby & Pike, 2000, p.140).

The model created and presented in this paper attempts to provide a *whole system* for studying and researching adult learning. Processes and interactions among adult learning theories were clearly highlighted and integrated for both newcomers to the field and adult educators alike.

By pooling our knowledge, resources and innovative ideas within, around and beyond this framework, we can continue to move forward in our learning and understanding of adult learning, and take guided personal, social and global action for our "world of relationships".

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Informing Policy: Findings of a Study on Application of Learning Following a Continuing Professional Education Program

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Abstract: In British Columbia (BC), a continuing professional education (CPE) program, for school personnel, on the topic of suicide intervention was developed, implemented and evaluated. A recent study on application of learning following this CPE program was conducted. It appears that application of learning did occur and was influenced by elements of the CPE program, characteristics of the learners, and their work environment. These findings are discussed and linked to informing policy at the school district level.

Background

Youth suicide is the second leading cause of death in Canada. Federal and provincial governments, schools, community groups, and individuals have developed strategies to deal with this issue, although none of these efforts have been wholly co-ordinated. One of the most common recommended strategies is to develop comprehensive school-based practices regarding the prevention and intervention of suicide among students. As well as delivering education and awareness programs directly to students, another practice employed is offering continuing professional education (CPE) programs to school personnel. Suicide intervention programs are designed so that school personnel, often referred to as gatekeepers, can learn warning signs, risk assessment, and how to get help for a potentially suicidal student (Leenaars et al., 1997). In 1990, the BC Ministry of Health funded a project to develop a school-based suicide awareness program for high school students. Several years later the BC Ministry for Children and Families funded the development of a suicide intervention CPE program for school personnel. As a result, the ASK ASSESS ACT program was developed, implemented and evaluated. In 2000-2001, I conducted a research study in two school districts in the province of BC on application of learning following the ASK ASSESS ACT suicide intervention CPE program. In this paper, I will link the findings from this follow-up study to informing policy at the school district level.

Rationale for a CPE Suicide Intervention Program

Why should a suicide intervention program be offered to school personnel when schools are overburdened with time constraints and behaviour problems? This program could seem like just one more demand on the system, yet, in a 1997 survey on training needs for BC school personnel, 52% indicated this type of training was a priority (White, Rouse, & Jodoin). Indeed, school personnel are in a position to "detect those who may be at risk" and seek help for a potentially suicidal student (Tierney, 1994, p. 69). To support the rationale for suicide intervention training, the following suicide, as described by a teacher, happened before the ASK ASSESS ACT suicide intervention program was offered in this school district. It illustrates the reality of the issue, suicide warning signs, and the impact on the school community.

> There was one student that I knew that (sic) committed suicide, at the school, he hung himself on the swings, and it affected the whole community profoundly. It was a horrendous thing. I don't know if there was that much of a warning sign but some of the kids knew, the kids that (sic) he had befriended they told me that he said things – like, about their shoes – did they want a pair of shoes like his, more specific kinds of things

> that were close to when his death happened. He was 14. It was a huge, huge impact and I don't think anyone has forgotten it.

This scenario further supports the argument that suicide intervention and awareness skills are beneficial not only to school personnel, but also to youth, families and communities. Tierney (1997) recommends suicide intervention training for school personnel, and written protocols for dealing with potentially suicidal youth, as part of a comprehensive, co-ordinated, "system-wide policy" for suicide prevention (p. 295).

Legal Considerations

In addition, a legal argument for providing suicide intervention programs to school personnel is offered by Oaks-Davidson (1986) and Noonan (1986). They believe that school districts have fair warning that someday they may be held liable for a suicide. Part of the liability is created because of the greater awareness of the issue and the fact that some school personnel are already trained in suicide intervention, thus putting responsibility on the professional body. In other words, if school districts support *some* suicide intervention training and the recommendation is that *most or all* school personnel should receive the training, the district may be considered negligent in not providing training. Indeed, a very public suicide death of a grade 9 student in BC, demonstrates the need for district level policy regarding crisis issues such as suicide. This event was front page news in the Vancouver Sun and The Province over a period of several months and brought a great deal of negative publicity to the school district. Two teachers were subsequently suspended for seven weeks because of their inappropriate comments (McMartin, P., Fong, P., & Skelton, C., 2000).

Purpose of Study and Contributions

In the province of BC, professional development programs for school personnel are offered on a regular basis (BCTF, 1998). Professional development is supported by local and provincial governing levels: the union, federation, school districts, and the Ministry of Education. A set number of days per school year are set aside as Professional Development Days (PRO D Days). There are budgets, planning committees, facilities and staff that support these activities. CPE programs are designed to update school personnel on academic matters, classroom management, and social/emotional issues. One such program, ASK ASSESS ACT: Suicide Intervention Training for School Personnel, has been delivered in BC since 1998; there is outcome data available about knowledge, attitude and skills (Haw & Andres, 1998,1999). However, little is known about the application of this and other programs when school personnel return to their respective classrooms due to a paucity of follow-up research after CPE programs (Ottoson 1997). This research addresses what and how learning is applied following a CPE program, the factors that influence application, and its implications for policy at the school district level.

Research Questions, Sample and Design

This qualitative research was guided by two questions: From the participants' perspective 1) what learning did they apply following the ASK ASSESS ACT program in the context of their school setting?; and, 2) what were the factors that facilitated or hindered this application of learning in the context of their school setting? This research was conducted in an urban and a rural school district in BC. A total of 156 school personnel from seven BC school districts had participated in the ASK ASSESS ACT CPE program during 1998 and 1999. A purposive sample was selected (Miles & Huberman, 1984) and 48 school personnel from three school districts, #36, #38, and #46 were asked to consent to a personal interview. Thirty-two semi-structured interview questions were developed based on four factors adapted from Cervero's (1985) framework on application of learning. These factors included: (1) the Program: ASK ASSESS ACT; (2) the Learners: school personnel; (3) the Proposed Behaviour Change: suicide intervention; and (4) the Social System: the school or district in which professionals work. Cervero believes that each one of these factors contains elements or characteristics that influence application of learning. Prior to conducting the interviews, the questions were pilot tested, and revised slightly, mainly for clarification. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. The data were input into the qualitative software program Atlas.ti to assist with the coding and analysis.

Findings

Twenty-one teachers, school counsellors, and youth workers consented to an interview. The personal interviews were conducted between November 2000 and June 2001. Only two school districts, #36 (Surrey), and #46 (Sunshine Coast) were included in this research. No one from school #38 (Richmond) consented to an interview: The main reason given by participants was that they were "too busy." The sample consisted of 7 males and 14 females. Nine participants were from SD #46 and 11 from SD #36. Average age of the participants was 45 years and the average years spent in their respective occupations were 16. Occupations consisted of school counsellors (N=7), teachers (N=7), and youth workers (N=7). The following data reflects the participants' experience in the three years following the ASK ASSESS ACT suicide intervention CPE program and are catagorized based on the four factors of Cervero's framework.

Factor 1, the Program

One hundred percent of the participants felt the program was relevant to their work, and one participant found it so relevant she said "I started incorporating it right the next day." Nineteen out of 21 felt it was a realistic program and two could not remember if it was realistic.

Factor 2, the Learners

One hundred percent of the participants had attended the CPE program voluntarily; they felt there were things they could do to prevent suicide; and that it was their responsibility to intervene with a potentially suicidal student. The following comment was offered to the question about responsibility: "I believe it's every adult's responsibility, yes absolutely, it's part of my professional duties." When asked to rate how confident they felt about identifying a potentially suicidal student, most participants, (N=19), rated their confidence level as confident to extremely confident, and 2 rated their confidence level as somewhat confident. Typical comments with regards to feeling confident were: "Asking the right questions. the confidence in asking direct questions. That probably saved those three kids." and, "ASK ASSESS ACT, the steps, validation, courage to do that, it took the fear away, I'm not afraid of asking the question."

Factor 3, the Proposed Behaviour Change

It was evident that all participants wanted the program because they identified the need for skills, tools, knowledge and information as suicide was a real issue for them in their schools as evidenced by these comments: "I deal with high risk kids" and "it was a hot topic in our district because of things that had happened recently."

Factor 4, the Social System

All participants, except one, had an opportunity to apply the suicide-risk assessment model they had learned during the training. With regards to perceived support for suicide intervention efforts, 17 participants felt there was support from their administrator, and 13 felt there was support from their school districts. When asked about a suicide intervention protocol (guidelines for dealing with a potentially suicidal youth) in their school or district, 5 participants reported such a document, 3 said no, and 13 didn't know. All that reported not knowing about or not having a protocol felt such a document would be beneficial and useful in their work.

What Learning Occurred?

It appears that participants did learn the basics of suicide intervention. Upon careful coding and data analysis it became clear that the concepts, in most cases, had been retained several years after the training. When asked for a definition of suicide intervention, all participants mentioned some aspects of: asking about suicide, assessing the risk of suicide, acting to a potentially suicidal situation, suicide warning signs and risk factors. To illustrate, the following comment was given by an ASK ASSESS ACT participant: "I've learned to ask and have no qualms about doing that and knowing how to do that and doing it." She further explained that one of the changes in her school, following the CPE program was "we encouraged one another to ask, right from that time on, has anyone asked? That's like part of our language now. Has anybody asked directly, have you talked to this child directly? We do it all the time, it's really neat." In addition, suicide intervention is not necessarily part of any professional training for school personnel, including counsellor training. Therefore, some experienced counsellors, for the first time, had learned and were applying a systematic suicide intervention model. One participant commented on how this had changed his practice: "…the need to ask the question *are you planning on killing yourself,* that was major, that was a major turn around for me, big time…"

Discussion

It appears that the participants in this study learned the key concepts of suicide intervention and applied them following the program. The value of this CPE program cannot be underestimated. It is my belief that without this program the level of suicide intervention identified in this study would have never occurred. There are many elements that seem to influence the application of learning related to the four factors identified in Cervero's framework: (1) perceived relevance and realism of the program; (2) the learners' feelings of increased confidence, belief that they can do things to prevent suicide, and their sense of responsibility. (3) a desire for suicide intervention skills and knowledge; and (4) the opportunity in the school system to apply the learning. The administrator or school support factor seems to have little influence on application of learning in this study. It also became evident that most participants wanted a refresher course or additional training, and felt a suicide intervention protocol would be beneficial.

Recommendations

There is a suicide intervention CPE program designed specifically for school personnel in the province of BC. The program appears to be meeting a need in the school system but it is not being systematically implemented. What appears to be missing and which would guide the continued work of suicide prevention and intervention are "system wide policies" as previously identified by Tierney. The BC Ministry of Education, has recommended suicide intervention protocols at the school district level but it is up to the individual district to implement such a policy (C. Roche, personal communication, March 25, 2002). Although another demand on school districts, these policies would demonstrate a commitment to suicide prevention by providing clear protocols in the event of a suicidal crisis, and for the systematic implementation of suicide intervention training.

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Women's Ways of Protesting:
Activism, Feminism, or Witnessing Across Separate Spheres?

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Abstract: The ways of women's resistance at different historical moments bear witness to the embodied specificity of protest and the contradiction of private and public spheres. As a witness, my research testimony uses four interpretive frames—popular education; civil society; performance; and carnival—to explore multiple meanings of protest.

This research begins to unfold a critical history of the embodied and symbolic forms that have mediated learning and resistance in women's activism in modern times (see Hart, 1997; Miles, 1996). I introduce readers to women activists—many do/did not name themselves as feminists or activists— in 19th- and early 20th-century North America (see Cook, McLean & O'Rourke, 2001;Welton, 1992). My autobiographical research related to the Canadian Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)—my mother, aunts, and both grandmothers were active members—is my departure point for a global exploration of women's ways of protesting. I recognize in myself Nancy Fraser's (1992) understanding of the desire of many feminists "to inspire women's activism by recovering lost or socially invisible traditions of resistance in the past and present. . . . [We are faced with] the following dilemma: either we limit the structural constraints of gender so well that we deny women any agency or we portray women's agency so glowingly that the power of subordination evaporates" (p. 92).

To focus this dilemma, Parkins (2000) explicates the "dissident citizenship" of the British suffragette, Mary Leigh. The19th- and early 20th century backdrop for women's suffrage and temperance in the UK and North America was the ideology of separate spheres, which took as "natural" women's nurturing, caring, and submissive roles in home life and child rearing and men's active, dominant roles in paid work and politics (see Guildford & Morton, 1994; Kerber, 1988). The enduring power of the gender ideology of separate spheres is deeply embedded in Western thought. Gouthro (2000) and Hernández (1997) critique Habermasian-inspired writings on civil society. "The system/lifeworld faithfully mirrors the public/private divide. . . . [I]t tends to diminish women's labour and societal contributions" (Gouthro, p. 64). Hernández interrogates the traditional categories of private and public spheres "in terms of who is/are the subject/s supposed to inhabit those spaces. . . . Woman, as an abstract construct, is confined to the private; but women, as concrete historical beings, cross borders into the public—although in restrained conditions—subverting any attempt to establish fixed boundaries" (p. 44).

Witnessing Across Separate Spheres

The connection between witnessing and social gospel in the WCTU women drew me to Roper-Huilman's (1999) elaboration of "witnessing" as a qualitative research method. I hear an echo from the *Protest*ant women of the early WCTU— especially Methodists and Baptists—and their *call to witness*, grounding their moral protest in Protestant Christianity. Hardesty's (1999) etymological lesson connects witnessing and the evangelical protest of the Protestant Reformation. "*Evangelical* is . . .derived from the Greek word *euangelion* ('good news' or 'gospel') . . . [and] is related to the Reformation's emphasis on justification by faith" (p. xi). Wary of reproducing the hegemonic texts of Protestant, white, middle-class, Euro-American ways of witnessing and reifying the binary of public and private spheres, I take up Ropers-Huilman's (1999) elaboration of witnessing as a qualitative research method for crossing borders and occupying complex intersections of knowledge and notions of agency:

> Further, these obligations propose the necessity of positioning ourselves in our work, . . . by telling others about our experiences and perspectives, while also listening to the interpretations of other participants. . . . Witnessing carries with it a responsibility to explore multiple meanings of equity and care while acting to promote our situational understandings of those concepts. (p. 24).

Becoming witnesses and historical actors in interpreting historical records resonates with Wilson's (1995) call for a critical re-telling of adult education history. Witnessing for Freire (1993) demands "an increasingly critical knowledge of the current historical context, the view of the world held by the people, the principal contradiction of society, and the principal aspect of that contradiction" (p. 157). In women's protest, the separation of public and private spheres is the principal contradiction.

My witnessing of the autobiographical records of WCTU women in the 19th century suggests that "troubling categories" (Lather, 2001) of private and the public was well underway as part of the "long revolution" (Williams, 1975). Under Frances Willard's leadership, the WCTU took their two special institutions—home and church—into politics and the public sphere. "Courage to love" as a dimension of witness in Freire's work echoes Willard's reference to "organized mother-love" (Hardesty, 1999, p. 130).

Witnessing Across History: An Exemplar

Witnessing as a historical research method is allied with the notion of "*disclosing that one is a discloser*" (Spinosa, Flores & Dreyfus, 1997, p. 28). Let me disclose a conversation in July, 2001 at the 35th triennial conference of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in the UK, when two WCTU members from Ontario chapters commended me for using the term activist rather than feminist in my presentation of the Canadian WCTU. One Canadian delegate said: "[The term]'feminist' just gets people riled up." I am reminded of a similar tactic used by Letitia Youmans (1893), first president of the Canadian WCTU.

> The term prohibition, when applied to the liquor traffic, was obnoxious, so much so that I would announce my subject as "home protection," assuring my audience that I had not come to advocate woman's rights, but to remonstrate against woman's wrongs. (p. 207)

In accord with Stone-Mediatore's (1998) elaboration of Chandra Mohanty's feminist genealogies of Third World women, I try (with only partial success) not to participate "in this 'discursive colonization' when it claims authority to speak for a certain group, suppress[ing] the group's heterogeneity in order to fit people into neat social categories, or obfuscat[ing] the history and politics behind a definition of group identity" (p. 8). For the purposes of witnessing protest in this paper as complex interaction and active learning, I propose the following four conceptual frames: popular education, civil society, identity politics as performance and performativity, and carnival. Witnessing as research method introduces critical, feminist, and poststructural perspectives on agency into my analysis (Ropers-Huilman).

Witnessing Protest as Popular Education

Feminist popular education is "oriented towards transforming gendered power relations and shares the basic methodological principle of valorizing, and building analytically and practically upon, the experiential knowledge of learners themselves" (Walters & Manicom, 1996, p. 2). Razack (1993) critiques popular education theorists and practitioners—including Freire—for their failure to theorise multiple and contradictory subjectivities, and to critically reflect on their own practices, especially the tendency to us versus them dichotomous thinking (pp. 60-61). In the context of the summer college of the Human Rights Research and Education Centre in Ottawa, Razack self-critiques her facilitation of participatory story-telling with human rights activists spanning "disadvantaged" groups, and concludes that feminists engaged in participatory learning need to give "attention to multiplicities, contradictions and relations of power embedded in interpretive structures" (p. 68). Writing and artwork feature throughout women's history as tools for protest. The writing workshops associated with the Culture and Working Life Project in South Africa follow the mould of popular feminist education (Von Kotze 1996). The stories produced in Von Kotze's workshop demonstrate writing as "an act of resistance and defiance, a refusal to be relegated to the margins, a process of claiming and occupying a space at the centre" (pp. 166-167). I turn to my WCTU historical research to name as popular education writing that was not "facilitated." Witness Letitia Youmans as an activist adult educator when she draws from popular culture—and in the historical moment of the late 19th century—the biblical phrase "wise as serpents and as harmless as doves" as a strategy for circumventing the gender ideology of separate spheres (pp. 113, 206). The context for the following passage from her 1893 autobiography was the 1885 Ontario government giving unmarried women the power to vote at municipal elections. Letitia Youmans' husband died in 1882.

> It did seem a dear price to pay for a vote when my husband was taken away. . . . It is a problem I have not been able to solve, why a woman having a husband should be disqualified from voting any more than a man who had a wife. An old-fashioned maxim declares. "It is a poor rule that won't work both ways." (p. 207)

Gough's (1988) account of the British Columbia WCTU between 1883 and 1939, features a letter in the *Colonist* (1899), which said those who opposed enfranchising women during the provincial election campaign were as "dumb as oysters" (p. 73).

The themes of alcohol abuse, domestic violence, women's role in popular religiosity, mothers' agency on behalf of their children, and women's political leadership feature in Price's (1999) contemporary research with women in La Margarita, Mexico. Price interviews Silvia, a 34-year old woman, who when she accepted a leadership position with the Union de Colonos Independientes, a grassroots political organization in low-income Guadalajara neighbourhoods, her husband began to drink more heavily and to beat and verbally abuse her. The catalysts for women's political leadership were the ecclesiastical base communities (CEBs), small gatherings of neighbours to study the Bible, socialize, discuss economic and social issues, and engage in municipal-level political lobbying for basic service provisions. Price concludes:

> Activist-oriented religiosity provides the framework within which Silvia and many other (although not all) politically active women in La Margarita engage in community politics. . . . She draws the inspiration to go on with her political work from a biblical analogy, saying, "I think of it as a thorny path [similar to the one walked by Jesus]." (p. 7)

Witnessing Protest As Civil Society

Feminist adult educators embrace the emphasis on communicative skills and ideology critique that accompanies civil society. At the same time, they critique the conflation of civil society with the public sphere. Gouthro (2000) calls for a "broadening of our conception of civil society to encompass the homeplace. . . . It is within the homeplace that individuals learn the basis for communicative competence needed within civil society discourse" (p. 67). *Les Madres*, the Argentinian mothers of the "disappeared," provide Gouthro with an exemplar of "homeplaces" and "motherwork," and Hernández' (1997) with an exemplar of the "feminist public counter-sphere." Both highlight the learning value that attends "overflowing traditional limits between the private and public" (Hernández, p. 43).Androbus (2001) identifies four spaces for women's organizing: consciousness-raising groups or women's circles; caucuses; coalitions, and campaigns. Androbus claims the women's circle as the basis of the "speak bitterness" campaigns of China after 1948, protesting the practices of foot binding and concubinage.

Protest translated from women's direct experience assumes symbolic forms, which Spinosa, Flores, and Dreyfus' (1997) elaborate as citizen virtue. Women as world citizens exercise the skill of "interpretive speaking" involved in changing what "citizens do by changing the way society understands and treats certain phenomena" (p. 88). Spinosa et al. choose Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) as their exemplary political action group. MADD's sensitivity to a disharmony in the face of personal tragedy "a grief mixed with outrage that comes from seeing and feeling an injustice that is not recognized by the community" (p. 90) manifests as political skill. A motivating force for Adelaide Hoodless of the Women's Institutes was the 1889 death of her infant son from drinking contaminated milk. Members of Women's Institutes responded to disparity as it permeated many domains of family life and care of children. Gouthro (2000) notes that the initial motivation for the Madres of Argentina was to find out what had happened to their own disappeared children. From this the movement grew to a collective force of "politicized motherhood" standing for human rights for all children.

Turning to my own historical research, I was drawn to a mention of "civil society" in Frances Willard's 1860 journal, nearly 15 years before she assumed leadership positions in the WCTU. Willard copied into her journal entry for February 21, 1860 a passage from Henry Ward Beecher's address, "Woman's Influence in Politics" on 16 February 1860 (de Swarte Gifford, 1995, p. 59). Willard drew lines at the left and right margins highlighting Beecher's address, including this passage:

> And Wherever in all equitable & just functions of *civil society*, woman has power to do as women do it, a thing which man has power to do as men do it, she is as much called to act, & has as much right to act as he as. (p. 60)

Witnessing Protest As Performance and Performativity

An understanding of women's protest and agency in feminist theory makes the distinction between performance as an embodied act and performativity, as a spoken or written utterance that *effects* an action (Stone, 1999, p. 300). Butler (1990) brings these two terms together when she asks "What kind of gender *performance* will enact and reveal the *performativity* of gender itself in a way that destabilized the naturalized categories of identity and desire?" (p. 147).

Protest as Performance. Implicit in women's protest as performance is an understanding of feminist agency, in which women's bodies make a powerful display of dissent. Parkins (2000) analyses Mary Leigh's activism in the British suffragette movement—specifically the Women's

Social and Political Union (WSPU)— as performing citizenship. Suffragettes "refigured political agency as based on performance rather than entitlement. Suffragettes did not simply act to become citizens or act like citizens, they acted citizenship" (p. 63). During Mary Leigh's career as a suffragette, she smashed windows, attempted arson, and went on hunger strikes when she was imprisoned. In the same decade in North America, Carry A. Nation protested the liquor traffic with her "hachetations"—smashing as performance (Grace, 2001). Embodied forms of protest challenge separate spheres. In 1909, Mary Leigh used a megaphone to interject at a Cabinet Minister's meeting in Nottingham, as a tactic to make the suffragettes' presence felt in the political domain. In 2002, homeless women used this same tool for amplifying and projecting women's voice during a demonstration at Kitchener City Hall on the evening of International Women's Day. Giroux's (2001) exemplar is Suzanne Lacy, a performance artist who demonstrates through her public work on rape, women's rights, racism, aging, and domestic violence that "art should be a force for information, dialogue, and social change" (p. 15).

In the interval between 1968 and 1989 when "many of the revolutionaries against consumer capitalism metamorphosed into 'civil society' human-rights activists" (p. 36), writes Hitchens (2001), protesters evolved the tactic of living and performing "as if" in order to survive. The only woman protester in Hitchens' list of "as if" performers is Rosa Parks from the 1960s civil rights movement in the southern US; she decided to act "as if" a "hardworking black woman could sit down on a bus at the end of a day's labor" (p. 38). Viola Desmond does not have the name recognition of Rosa Parks in her community-based "as if " performance. In 1947, the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Coloured People aided Viola Desmond in taking her case to court, when she was ejected from the "white section" of a segregated theatre in Nova Scotia (Sangster, 2001, p. 208).

Subversive Repetition. Butler (1999) takes all of these performances to be discursive practices, claiming that "the task is not whether to repeat, but how to repeat or, indeed, to repeat and, through a radical proliferation of gender, to *displace* the very gender norms that enable the repetition itself"(p. 189). Two exemplars of subversive repetition of Shakespeare's characters bear witness. During the late 1980s, the Nightwood Theatre in Toronto featured Ann Marie MacDonald's play, *Goodnight Desdemona, Good Morning Juliet*, about a Queen's University lecturer who altered the fate of two of Shakespeare's best-known tragic heroines, and was herself changed forever (Rusch-Drutz, 2001, pp. 273-274). I attempted a rewrite of Shakespeare's women as leaders in response to executive leadership training programs that valorized male leaders such as Julius Caesar and Henry IV (see Lander, 2001).

Witnessing Protest As Carnival

Transgressive practices and suspension of official rules underlie carnival in its material and symbolic manifestations of protest. The promise of medieval and Renaissance carnival in Mikhail Bakhtin's (1984) study, *Rabelais and His World* appeals to educational theorists is in its transgressive possibilities for a democratic, emancipatory, and transformative expression of embodied experience (see Heikinen, 1998; Lander, 1999; Michelson, 1999; Quantz & O'Connor, 1988; Sidorkin, 1997). The Raging Grannies provide an exemplar of women's protest that acts "as a 'laughing chorus' in opposition to official dogma [that] can lead to a new consciousness of ambivalence, the first step to freedom and change" (Heikinen, 1998, p. 2). Stories of experience are a common theme in women's political struggle (see Mohanty, 1991; Stone-Mediatore, 1998). Michelson relates experiential learning to social practices of irreverence and subversion on the part of new social movements that utilise forms of politicised performance art such as street theatre, carnivals, and community celebrations" (p. 150).

Sipple (1991) connects carnival as conceptualized by Bakhtin and witnessing. Her exemplar is *Women on the Breadlines,* written by Miridel Le Sueur, who acts as a "witness [to] the suffering of women" (p. 135) through her four stories about the hardships endured by transient, homeless women during the Depression era. The power of carnival and the grotesque arises from the willingness to make a "spectacle" of oneself (p. 148). These women used "their bodies as transgressive representations against the culture that forced them into the position of the underclass" (p. 138). "Standing outside the back door of the restaurant, Ellen kicks her legs into the air, 'showing [them] so that the cook came out and gave her some food and some men gathered in the alley and threw a small coin on the ground for a look at her legs'. . . . Ellen survives a bit longer and demonstrates the limits and contradictions in gender roles" (p. 141).

The Trinidad Carnival is the prototype for Caribana, the August festival of the Caribbean community in Toronto. Philip's (1997) transgressive language practices constitutes witnessing as a subversive act—as carnival. "Carnivalesque discourse," writes Kristeva (1986), "breaks through the laws of a language censored by grammar and semantics and, at the same time, is a social and political protest" (as cited in Philip, 1997, p. 204). Philips upsets the grammar in her witness of Maisie and Totoben making a spectacle of themselves and resisting official culture. "What connecting Maisie and Totoben on the slave ship to Totoben and Maisie on University Avenue up in Canada is moving—the moving of their bodies. And the stopping of that moving" (p. 207). Carnival adds another layer to Freire's (1993) project for revolutionary leaders to initiate the experience for learners to name their world. Philip's transgressive writing illustrates how carnivalizing official dictums and official languages can support learning for social change.

Summary

I return to witnessing as research method. As a witness, I used four different frames to examine women's ways of protesting. I framed my exemplars of Rosa Parks and Viola Desmond in terms of witnessing protest as performance. My "testimony" from this regime of truth creates different meanings than testimony in the frame of carnival or civil society or popular education. I witnessed Carry Nation and Mary Leigh in the frame of civil society, but I could also disclose their smashing as subversive repetition—performativity that "effects" women as citizens. I disclosed the British Columbia WCTU and their turn of phrase from "wise as serpents" to "dumb as oysters" as an exemplar of popular education, but this way of protesting also exemplifies civil society, carnival, and subversive repetition. As a witness, I crossed separate spheres and conclude that crossing (or not crossing) private and public spheres underscores the specificity of women's bodies and the value of experience in the ways that women protest.

Learning in a Trade Union

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Abstract: The presented case-study aims at understanding the conditions and circumstances that shape the kind of learning that takes place in a local branch of a Swedish Trade union. Three patterns related to learning are described and discussed against their situation in complex organisations and a globalised economy.

The role of learning in local trade unions' attempts to deal with contemporary challenges is the focus of this paper. An ethnographic study based on participant observation and some other empirical sources has been made of the activities of the board of a local trade union. It is a study where the ambition has been to contextualise learning, to understand the conditions and circumstances that shape the kind of learning that takes place. "Thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973) presents contexts where arguments can resonate and thus inspire a more complex understanding. Another side of this coin is that the description of the union board-work also gives a possibility to discuss why certain kind of learning does not, in fact, seem to take place as a mirror of the conditions for trade unions in the present situation.

The context of the investigation

The context investigated were part of attempts by the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions to change their social practices (www.dlk.runo.se). The general aim was to consolidate the position of the local levels within the trade unions, and as a means, giving them more of the role as initiators in relation to their need of knowledge and skills. This is different from the tradition, where courses and material have been developed on the national level for the local shop stewards and members. The attempts were organised as a project where the trade unions co-operated with Linköpings universitet in order to develop this new strategy. One part of the project was to use information technology – the Web – as a means to learn.

Köpsén has followed the experiences of the project seen from the perspectives of the participating local trade unions. The pre-study of the project, organised as an open flexible distance education program, showed that shop stewards had difficulties in formulating everyday-problems as learning needs (Köpsén, 2000). It seemed necessary to learn more about the context, that produced this for the project relatively disappointing conclusion. Köpsén therefore followed the board of a union at a factory, here called Stromsa, during one year. It was an ethnographic study with focus on the learning and the context for learning. Stromsa is an old factory and the board members of the local trade union have carried out the union work together for many years – they are experienced.

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[1] The authors have different roles: Köpsén has made the empirical study, while Larsson is supervisor. They have written the article in co-operation.

The importance of the everyday context

In order to understand the logic behind the study, we must say something about the importance of the everyday context for learning. Several different approaches to the study of learning stresses that learning should be described in relation to the specific context or content. Some stress the situated character of learning. Thus we have descriptions of the kind of math that people use when shopping (Lave, 1988) or the knowledge needed to sail a ship (Hutchins, 1993). Different metaphors have been used for learning as apprenticeship or becoming a member in a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Also phenomenological traditions stress the need to describe learning in relation to it's specific content, i.e. the content of consciousness (Marton & Booth, 1997). In this tradition as well as hermeneutics is the dialectic between already formed conceptions, pre-understandings, and the specific context in focus. One aspect of this is that we use "standard interpretations" to a great extent. However, sometimes we are confronted by something where "standard interpretations" do not function. If this leads to a change, to a different way of understanding something, we can talk about learning. In the same way, our activities are often based on routines – standard ways of doing things. One may talk about routines and structures being a part of the social culture and traditions (Säljö, 2000). However, here too we can identify learning. By engaging in new activities, we develop new skills (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Has the local trade union ways of acting that effectively deal with the problems it is faced with? Is the local trade union losing something by sticking to certain routines?

It is easy to think about learning as something individual: It is individuals who interpret and act. However, we interpret via collective communication and language and our acts are co-ordinated with others. Some talk about a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998; Rogoff, Matusov & White, 1996). How does the local trade union use its collective resources? Is there a co-ordination of individual actions or are knowledge and skills individualised?

These were some of the perspectives that have been important for the way we have tried to understand the case we have investigated. One important assumption is that we delimit our study to the union board's activities in relation to solving the problems that the union members are faced with.

Stromsa

Stromsa is situated in an old country village dominated by the company for more than a hundred years. Stromsa is based on heavy industry line production, stable in the sense that there have been few changes in production and number of employees (approx. 300 workers). The local trade union is one of the oldest in Sweden and the board has had the same chairperson for thirteen years. The local trade union work has been carried out by almost the same four shop stewards for about fifteen years. They consider themselves to be an autonomous and experienced local trade union board. Stromsa has always been a Swedish company until two years ago when an American international corporation bought it up. This new situation has changed the local trade union's relations with the employer and the prerequisites of the local union work:

> -Not even our local bosses seem to have any influence.

The change of ownership is one of the contemporary challenges the local trade union has to deal with and the working life at Stromsa is not as stable as it used to be.

Three patterns of solving problems

The board is very active, and it seems to know how to solve some problems, but not how to solve others. We have seen three qualitatively different categories: three patterns of solving problems. Determining for the pattern is the kind of problem defined by the kind of knowledge needed. Indicator for the kind of knowledge needed is the degree of prescribed solution, if the problems require more or less legal skills and finally if the board must develop their own opinions and arguments about how to act.

The first pattern. Ways of solving and the predicted results are here relatively obvious for the board. Problems concern individuals or small groups of members and can be solved by looking at laws, regulations and contracts. One can talk about a need for "legal knowledge and skills". The legal structures produce correct answers. The board seems to be confident when problems are of this kind - they are experienced. This category of problems is solved individually and not collectively. The chairperson says:

> - Usually I know what to do, but sometimes I call an ombudsman to confirm that I'm right.

In relation to learning, it seems that there are established routines for individuals to learn in formal courses, but also through everyday practice of the use of "legal knowledge and skills".

The second pattern. This pattern of solving problems is quite similar to the first one as the problems are not too complex and have legal support, although there are no obvious and "right answers". This kind of problems often concerns all the members or groups of members. Even if it is not obvious how to solve the problem, the shop stewards seem to know how to try to solve it: they have experience of this kind of problems although the specific problem is new. They seem to know how to deal with the problem. In this second pattern are the problems also mainly handled individually, but sometimes the shop stewards ask a union colleague for help, sometimes colleagues at other workplaces within the trade unions. However, asking for help outside the board is quite unusual. Lasse, a member of the board says:

> - I looked in my books when I was supposed to make a plan about how to act in an emergency situation. I also tried to use the union Web asking if anyone in the national union had any experience. Why should I try to invent the wheel once again?

The shop stewards at Stromsa cannot act by routine, as they do not have any experience of the specific problem. They have to search for the solution. In relation to learning one can talk of needs for new interpretations and activities, needs not too complicated to handle but sometimes requiring collective deliberations and actions; needs for collective learning. Referring to the development project, the most significant change in local trade union work involves problems of this kind, as the participating shop stewards have begun to use the union Web to search for solutions or ways to deal with a problem.

The third pattern. The third pattern is about problems that are unfamiliar and solutions are unclear; there is no routine to deal with the problem. The problems of this kind concern the destiny of the collective, more or less all the members. The trade union at Stromsa is skilled when it comes to dealing with the legal problems, but cannot deal as well with this third kind of problem. A prominent example is the threat that essential parts of production at Stromsa will be outsourced. Here, the board is aware of the problem but does not seem to be able to find ways of tackling it. The kind of knowledge that would be needed is something that is not legal but where interpretations and evaluations of the situation by the members will end up inarguments and opinions about what action should be taken. In relation to legal skills, it is more open-ended and no standard interpretations existat the local level. In this sense, new interpretations and ways of acting are needed to find a solution. It is also a need of skills to collaborate in forming collective interpretations and actions. These problems are in the same genre as those discussed in texts on democratic theory: problems about forming opinions of political action.

The alarming situation of the possible outsourcing is discussed at a board meeting. The following are extracts from Köpsén's fieldnotes:

> Lasse asks: -What will we do if it happens? -What demands should we make? We do have to have an opinion?
> They are all dissatisfied with how the investigation has been carried out:
> -The investigation must show the practical consequences if they close down.
> -We have to present our alternative.
> -What right do we have for an employee consultant?
> The chairperson says: -We have to wait and see. -We always have our right to negotiate.
> Per says over and over again: -Delay! -Protract! -Oppose!
> Gunilla says: -We have to write letters, we have to spam…!
> The discussion jumps disjointedly between different persons and sometimes there are two conversations going on at the same time. The discussion swings between argumentation and acting without any structure. The discussion ends with a coffee break and no clear decisions.
> Notes after the meeting: They can see the problem but they don't know how to deal with it. They bring up different strategies but the choice they make is to wait. What is their alternative? They don't know what they want except no change. They don't formulate any arguments, e.g. what does Gunilla want to write in the letters and the e-mails and what will the say at the negotiation?

One way to understand the third pattern of action concerning this kind of problems is to interpret it as a pragmatic adaptation. An adaptation to the fact that a distant owner of the workplace controls the "future"; it is a part of the scenario where globalised capital is the party that should be negotiated with. This is a situation where the local trade union lacks strategies. Contemporary examples seem to show the difficulties facing local trade unions when they have to deal with such problems. Learning must therefore also be understood from this perspective.

Another way to interpret the third pattern in terms of the nature of the problem is to illustrate that these problems can have legal support in general terms, but neither solutions nor guidelines for dealing with them. A board member illustrates a kind of feeling of being lost when the legal framework for solving a problem does not exist:

- It's difficult when it comes to organisation of work and manning, there are no rules and contracts to refer to.

Problems are often spoken of in general and abstract terms, e.g. work environment, the learning organisation and the good work. The meaning of these concepts are not discussed and blurry understandings of the concepts might complicate the solution this kind of problems.

The kind of problems in the third pattern is not only a challenge because of the nature of the problem. It is also a challenge in terms of handling the problem, as the board members try to solve these problems collectively. There is a need for collaboration and collective learning. It seems as if the conditions for learning through dialogue are not very supportive. In this way, learning and skillsdevelopment take place individually in the sense that there is little dialogue that produces new interpretations by presenting a variation of arguments that have to be evaluated and thus result in more sophisticated interpretations and forming of opinions and actions.

This individualistic trait can also be interpreted as an effect of the shop stewards having worked together for such a long time that they have formed traditions, structures and routines about the way they work, communicate and relate to each other. This individualistic trait is supported by the tradition that individual members of the board attend courses, the content of which is not communicated to the board. They also consider themselves experienced and rarely talk about learning needs or discuss their joint trade union work.

> At the end of the meeting Olle shows three booklets about lean organisations. He says: - These books are about what we just discussed.
> The booklets are passed round the table. There is a silence.
> - Shall we buy in these books? Olle asks.
> There are no answers from the other members of the board.
> - Who will take care of these books? Olle asks.
> No one answers.

Another way of interpreting the individualistic way of working and communicating at Stromsa is to consider the traditions within the national trade union. The local boards are expected to deal with the problems on their own. There is no tradition of informal communications and consequently no support for dialogues as an instrument for learning.

Learning in the trade union: some general remarks

The thought that local trade unions should take the initiative to learn according to their needs is a probably a good thought. However, when we take the broader view and put this into context it becomes clear that it is a complicated matter. It is not a question of changing the way the union representatives learn, rather, learning is embedded in the activity as a whole.

Learning in the local trade union is about solving the members' problems better e.g. changing the local trade union as a social practice. Learning is part of the general pattern of organising everyday activities and cannot be isolated from these activities. Changing the social practice of the local trade unions involves developing new routines and new strategies for interpretations and actions. But it also involves changing the structures and routines within the national trade unions as a whole. It is nothing that can be done only by the shop stewards and the local boards. It is a collective mission for the trade unions. The project to which this study is related can be seen as part of such an attempt.

Learning in the local trade union, as changing the social practice, is also about views of skill and knowledge needed to engage in the activities of the practice. We have learnt that the shop stewards do not know how to deal with problems where they have to form their own opinions and strategies concerning more fundamental question for the members. Trade unions at the local level need support in interpreting unclear problems that are often referred to in general terms. There is a need to make these complex problems more concrete and easier to deal with. To us, it seems that there is a need to develop ways of talking about the problemsas well as strategies for actions. The collective aspect of union work is of great importance. An old board with established routines could be hindrance to new interpretations and routines. Changing the social practice of the local trade unions also is a question of developing the collective work.

The trade union board was limited in their relations with the employer, i.e. having the power and crucial control over the company, limitations that were related to globalisation and complex organisations. These circumstances shed light on the fact that the fundamental conditions governing relations between the trade unions and the employers have changed. The local trade unions often do not negotiate with their real counterparts in a globalised economy.

Local learning needs as talked about within the unions seem to be the knowledge needs for solving specific kind of relatively clear problems described in pattern one and two. But we have identified also local needs for developing skills for the collaborative work, a work concerning the more complex problems like the ones in pattern three. Not least is this about the problems related to the fact that decision-making often is not local, but distant from the local union. Castells (1996) discuss the emergence of a net-work society. The trade union has here a challenge that it in our case, so far, has not been able to meet.

To develop and support the collective forming of opinions, arguments and actions concerning the critical problems for the trade unions is therefore crucial. This could be considered as a need for more of "communicative action" in Habermas' meaning. It seems as if this kind of independent deliberation is not part of the social practice. It may also be the case that the local union will need support from routines and social practices concerning the emerging problems that are developed on a more central level.

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Exploring Teaching Roles and Responsibilities in Adult Literacy Education: Do Teachers See Themselves as Transformative Educators?

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Abstract: This qualitative study compared English and ESL teachers' perspectives of teaching and learning with the role of the adult educator and the process of learning, most notably described by Jack Mezirow in his theory of transformational learning and Paulo Freire in his critical theory of adult education. Significant parallels between some of the teachers' intentions, views of learning, and curriculum orientation were consistent with the role of the educator and the process of learning described in transformative theories of adult learning. The teachers in this study also held many reservations about the role of the teacher as a change agent.

Theoretical Framework and Background of the Study

Transformational learning has become a focal point of theoretical and practical study in adult education over the last twenty years. Transformative learning involves a process where individuals reflectively transform existing beliefs, attitudes, opinions, and emotional reactions that may limit their ability to achieve their personal and intellectual potential. A fundamental shift takes place in the way individuals see themselves, others, and the world. The ideas of Freire (1970) and Mezirow (1981) have been applied to adult education contexts that include: literacy education, community and social change movements, environmental education, and professional development in organizations (Baumgartner, 2001; Clark, 1993; Robertson, 1996; Taylor, 1998, 2000). Both Freire (1970, 1973, 1997) and Mezirow(1981, 1990, 1991) emphasize that the educator can play a key role as a catalyst of transformative change and learning. In Freire's view, the educator assumes the role of a co-learner who with empathy and insight understands the existential reality of learning. Education becomes democratic when educators participate collaboratively with adult learners in a "critical and liberating" dialogue that is grounded in the life world of the individual. From Mezirow's perspective, the educator is described as an "empathic provocateur" and role model who is critically self-reflective and encourages others to consider alternative perspectives. The process of transformative learning, notes Mezirow, helps learners gain a sense of agency over (themselves) and their lives (Mezirow, 1985). Mezirow (1991) contends that a central goal of adult education should involve creating conditions to help adult learners become more critically reflective and "advance developmentally" toward "integrated and discriminating meaning perspectives" (p. 225). He emphasizes that transformative learning should be the "business of all adult educators."

At best, it seems naive to assume that all adult educators share a liberal-humanist philosophy and that the goal of transformative learning is shared by adult educators (Conti, 1985, 1990; Cranton, 1992, 1994; Ellsworth, 1992; Nesbit, 1998; Pratt and associates, 1998; Quigley, 1996; Robertson, 1998; Taylor, 2000). Indeed, the extensive research on teaching perspectives conducted by Pratt and associates (1998) attest to the diversity in teaching approaches and strategies among adult educators. In his detailed study of teaching processes of basic education mathematics teachers at an urban community college, Nesbit(1998) found that without exception, the teachers in the study focused more on " teaching the syllabus" rather than the students. He describes teaching as "akin to inculcation." Robertson (1996) asserts that throughout the literature, there is the image of the exemplary adult educator as a person with expertise in facilitating transformative learning, yet again, throughout the literature, there is a lack of information that suggests guidelines in preparing or supporting adult educators who may want to accomplish these goals. With a few exceptions, the adult education literature does not carefully examine the intra and interpersonal dynamics of the educational helping relationship. Similarly, Taylor (2000) contends that adult educators are being encouraged to practice a particular approach to teaching with a process that is still inadequately described and understanding, especially in classroom contexts.

Purpose of the Study

Two of the central questions that this qualitative study investigated and analyzed were: 1) Do adult educators' conceptualizations of the teaching-learning process reflect the assumptions about the role of the educator and the process of learning described in transformative learning theories? 2) Do teachers see themselves as "transformative" educators? One of the theoretical models for understanding the different perspectives and philosophies that the educators held was developed by Pratt and associates (1998). In their analysis of teaching in adult and higher education, Pratt and his associates identify five teaching perspectives: the transmission, nurturing, apprenticeship, developmental, and social reform perspective. In this study, the teachers' perspectives were most consistent with the transmission, nurturing, and developmental teaching orientations.

Methodology

The present research was a qualitative study that explored twelve English and ESL teachers' conceptions of their professional world, rather than their teaching behavior in adult literacy classrooms. In the present study, I conducted three one and half to two hour semi-structured interviews with each literacy teacher. The questions centered around their understanding of the process of teaching and learning, their approach to curriculum planning and assessment, and the beliefs and values that guide their practice. Each interview was taped and then transcribed. The data was presented in form of individual profiles of each of the twelve educators. In addition to a qualitative analysis of the interviews, cross verification of the data also included use of instruments such as Conti's (1990) Principles of Adult Learning Scale, Kolb's (1985) Learning Style Inventory and Zinn's(1994) Philosophy of Adult Education Inventory. A repertory grid exercise was used to help the teachers articulate and expand on the roles that they identified most closely with (see Candy, 1991, Cranton, 1994). Some of these roles include: the facilitator, mentor, co-learner, provocateur, instructor, researcher, researcher, and counsellor.

Significant Research Findings

Most of the educators in this study did not refer to themselves as "transformative educators" nor did they share a theoretical understanding of Freire's critical education theory or Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation; in this sense, theory is not driving practice. However, significant parallels between some of the teachers' intentions, views of learning, curriculum orientation, and personal philosophy of practice were consistent with the role of the transformative educator and the process of learning described by Freire (1970) and Mezirow (1981). Similar to Taylor's(1997) analysis of the common themes in studies researching transformative learning, the present study found that most of the teachers emphasized the importance of providing a safe, open, and trusting environment for learning, and using instructional strategies that supported a learner-centered approach that promoted choice and self-direction.

Teaching English from a Transformative Perspective

As a subject, English can be used as a vehicle for exploring values, current issues, and landscapes of the imagination. Gee (1992) writes that English and ESL teachers are "gatekeepers" in the sense that "short of radical social change, there is no access to power in society without control over the discourse practices in thought, speech, and writing." (p. 60). He further states that while educators can view themselves as "language and literacy teachers" with no connection to political and social issues, an alternative is that they can see their role as persons who "socialize learners into a world view that must be looked at critically, comparatively, and with a constant sense of the possibilities for change"(p.60). Much has been written about using novels, poetry, and other texts as catalysts for triggering critical reflection and transformative learning (Frye, 1978; Green, 1990; Peim, 1993; Rosenblatt,1978). In the present study, a number of the adult literacy educators used different forms of literature as a vehicle for exploring ideas in psychology, politics, media literacy, racism, sociology, and the environment. Autobiography, personal narratives, and other forms of creative writing were seen by some of the teachers in this study as helping adult learners "tap into areas of the imagination."

The importance of "value laden course content" was also seen by many of the teachers in this study as being an important vehicle for promoting critical awareness and deeper level learning. Many of the teachers in this study emphasize the importance of adult learners being able to relate literacy texts their own lives. Choice, empowerment, accessability, and the "demystification" of literature were common themes. Craig, one of the community college English teachers, further explained:

> Literature provides shape and form to life's questions. That's what keeps people reading. My approach to teaching involves this exploration. I have a desire to make shape out of different facts. Unlike other kinds of teaching where the curriculum may be very set and specific, there is an element of discovery in teaching English. Freud studied literature as a way of understanding personality and motivation . . . We all have a narrative to tell. At its basic level, literature exists to help people understand themselves and the world.

Craig described himself as a cultural guide, facilitator, and co-learner. He emphasized that he looks for different kinds of narratives that his students can relate to, and from there he "builds bridges" to new knowledge.Craig also expressed concern with the trend in colleges to value "all things technical." He emphasized: "The current educational culture does not encourage intellectual innovation; I suppose I'm talking about an education that includes economic, cultural, and historical literacy. We would be lost if we did not have an intellectual spiritual conscience but we are heading for that right now."

As an inner city teacher working with adult literacy learners, Bruce sees literature and creative writing as a vehicle for personal and social transformation:

> Writing is an act of seeing. I try to encourage my students to be good observers...I want the students to articulate their experiences and in the process heal in some way. Many of my students are burdened by terrific emotions. I teach in the center of pain and poverty. A lot of talented young people grow up with poverty, prejudice, and a lack of hope. They don't feel accepted. I try to get them to explore their feelings and share with others by writing about it. I see many of our students who are overwhelmed by their alcohol and drug habits. Students who grew up in parentless homes are now parents themselves. I think that the whole idea of teaching literature and writing is to inform, uplift, and serve as a useful psychological and spiritual guide. Part of my work involves demystifying the language of poetry to make it accessible to students from different backgrounds. In my classes I say:

> 'let's look at the world and see what is there. Let's look at ourselves and see what's there.' I try to make them see that literature is a mirror held up to human nature.

The Role of the Transformative Educator

While most of the educators in this study did not see their role as a "transformative educator" they did not discount the reality that the educational experiences for many of their students were very significant and went "beyond the acquisition of practical skills" into the realm of personal development and social awareness. One teacher explained: "Learning is more than an accretion of facts...it's changing the architecture around you. Major learning to me means a paradigm shift of sorts." A number of the teachers in this study emphasized that all learning was a type of transformation and that changes in self-perceptions and social awareness could be an outcome of " functional" approaches to teaching literacy. When asked the question "What does a transformative educator mean to you?" many of the teachers in this study emphasized that deeper level learning may have more to do with the readiness of the learner than of something specific that the educator may do. Craig explained:

> I'm not really sure what a transformative educator means. I think of a dramatic change like a chrysalis changing into a butterfly. I think that if someone calls herself or himself a transformative educator, that's a very demanding claim. I think that if you can help people a few steps along on their journey of learning, you're doing well. I see transformation as having a lot to do with the student, and their own readiness, rather than being with the teacher. I am very wary of the role of the educator as change agent. I have to ask myself: what kind of change?

A number of the teachers also associated roles such as "reformer", "provocateur" and "transformative educator" with manipulation, and an imposition of the educators' values onto the student. Mary, a community college ABE teacher, emphasized that " adult educators have no business trying to transform students . . . that's a very personal and political matter. It's also patronizing to think that as a teacher I can teach these students about the world in which they live. I would never presume that a student cannot think deeply or critically. There is a certain arrogance in a philosophy that extols the view that 'we know what a good society is.' " Yvette, an ESL teacher, views aspects of transformative learning as potentially dangerous and damaging for adult learners already in a state of transition:

> The teacher should not be manipulating any political ideas in the classroom . . . New Canadians are already going through a transformation by their very experience of being in a new culture. Their culture is continually being challenged in terms of religion, marriage, child rearing, etc. If you start bringing up these topics, they will say: 'I can't handle this right now.' I've learned this along time ago . . . I am not going to discuss politically volatile topics because I have students from regions that may have been at war with each other. A person's emotional attachments are very strong . . . and you are not necessarily helping just because you address personal or social issues.

The Adult Educator as Co-learner, Facilitator, and Guide

An interesting finding in this study is that the educators did not identify themselves as exclusively having one role–they see their roles as being quite fluid and flexible. The role that they identified most with was the role of the facilitator who acts to guide rather than direct the learning process. One teacher explained: "I'm there to guide people to help them look at themselves and their own discoveries. I consider myself a reformer only in the sense that I can help people find out where or what they want to reform. I can help learners articulate their experiences." For meaningful learning to take place, an atmosphere of trust and respect must be there. Yvette identified most with the roles of the co-learner, facilitator, resource person, researcher, and "diagnostician" of learning needs:

> I see myself as a manager of the classroom but not of learning. Learning should not be controlled by me. It is a process of discovery. I also see myself as equal to my students. They may be learning about life in Canada but I am learning about them. I am learning about their culture and changing myself in the process. By being parachuted into a new country, a new culture, a new society, the adult learner feels that their own identity is being attacked. Students will often say to me that they feel like ' a fish out of water' . . . We have to give these students an opportunity to express their perceptions and feelings of isolation and uprootedness. A good literacy teacher is one who can get into the skin of that student being first and foremost. The content is secondary . . . I am not there just to teach them lessons in reading comprehension and grammar.

Interestingly, Zinn (1994) notes that the dominant philosophies that an educator holds are more likely to be complementary rather than contradictory (e.g., the progressive and behavioral philosophies complement each other while the radical and behavioral contradict each). This study also found far more contradictions and inconsistencies with regard to the perspectives and philosophies the educators held. For example, some teachers who expressed humanistic themes in the way their facilitated class discussions also held "behavioral" and "transmission" oriented approaches to assessment or in the specific teaching methodologies that they employed.

The Adult Literacy Educator as Counsellor

The teachers in this study explained that it was sometimes difficult to separate the role of the counsellor/therapist and the teacher. Mezirow (1981) emphasizes that educators should have "sufficient psychological knowledge" to help learners deal with anxieties and emotional barriers that may interfere with learning, yet most adult educators are not trained as counsellors to deal with the problems that many adult literacy learners' experience. Catherine, a college English teacher working in a self-paced literacy program, explained:

> When adults return to school, so much of what we do as teachers has nothing to do with academics. Many students don't know how to study or they have no confidence. As teachers, we really have to deal with self-esteem issues. This is never done as an exercise in confidence building; instead, it is part of what I do every day in speaking with the students individually. I am more like a counsellor than a teacher some days.

While the teacher's ability to empathize and be sensitive to the learners' problems are critical, a number of the teachers in this study explained that they felt very hesitant to take the place of a therapist. One of the literacy teachers explained: "Many of my students in basic literacy have been victims of trauma and abuse. I'm not trained as a therapist, and if a student is having serious problems, I try to refer them to a counsellor." In referring to literacy programs that have attempted to integrate literacy learning and psychological healing, this teacher emphasized that "more time, resources, and education" would be needed if literacy educators are expected to take on a therapist role.

The Role of the Adult Educator as Manager, Expert, and Planner

While the adult educators in this study had views consistent with collaborative and transformative perspectives of teaching and learning with regard to the importance of establishing a positive atmosphere and in their emphasis on teachers having empathy and insights into learners

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needs and barriers to learning, their views differed from transformative approaches when a closer analysis was made into the evaluation process and the design of the curriculum. The role of the teacher as manager, expert, and planner surfaced more when the teachers in this study spoke of setting course objectives, evaluating and assessing student learning, and organizing specific classroom activities. Despite the effort that many of the teachers in this study made to reduce the power imbalance between himself or herself and the students, the educators acknowledged the limitations of "power sharing." The literature on transformative learning in the adult education classroom tends to underscore the reality of evaluation and assessment. One teacher explained: "Evaluation is a fact and I must work under those parameters. I am not under any illusions. Our students know that. Right away, there's a power differential . . . there are also socioeconomic and cultural differentials that many teachers don't seem to think affect the way they come across to their students."

The Mission of the Institution and Department

One of the factors influencing the curriculum and to some extent, the teaching approaches of the educator may relate to the department and institutional directives. Kember and Gow (1995) for example, found that the specific guidelines of a department have "a fairly strong influence over the teaching of individual lecturers" (p. 70). In departments where "effective teaching" is conceived of as "knowledge transmission" didactic teaching methods are more likely to be the preferred department teaching orientation. "The extent to which a faculty member's conception of teaching is a reflection of the individual or the department presumably depends upon the balance of individual autonomy and department and institutional pressures" (Kember and Gow, 1995, p. 71). In this study, a number of the teachers noted that literacy education is increasingly becoming a "commercial enterprise" and that educational institutions are driven more by a "technical" view of adult literacy where learning outcomes are quantifiable and measurable. One literacy educator explained: "We have to fight to keep the word education in our programs. So many programs are becoming 'training' nowadays. The administration keeps asking for key productivity indicators and this is particularly frustrating when you work in basic literacy."

Conclusion

It is interesting to note that while the adult education literature emphasizes the importance of educators critically challenging learners and fostering a climate where deeper level or transformative learning might occur, the trend in many adult literacy institutions is toward a "narrowing" of skills and competencies that may be diametrically opposed to transformative types of learning. Partnerships with business, English for a technical purpose, computer literacy, workplace literacy and training, and standardized evaluation all emphasize a transmission of specific skills and competencies. In these contexts, the teacher is more closely connected with the role of "instructor" or "technician." Saul (1995) notes that the increasing alignment of education with the needs of the job market may result in narrow specialization and a "fracturing of knowledge" that can undermine the search for ideas and understanding, and ultimately, individual participation in building a democratic society. The practical realities of teaching in an inner city high school for adults and in a city community college may make it difficult for teachers to apply "transformative learning"approaches even if they choose to do so. Finally, this study found that the perspectives on teaching and learning that the educators in this study held developed over time and were influenced by factors such as personality, family and educational experience, past teaching experiences, the specific characteristics of their students, and their work context.

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Learning and the Law
Research and Policy Directions

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Abstract: This paper will describe recent research in the area of Public Legal Education and Information (PLEI) and how that research is helping to inform policy development on Public Legal Education and Information at a national level.

Introduction

Public Legal Education and Information (PLEI) refers to legal education and information that is for the general public, as opposed to those studying the law or those already in the profession. PLEI work is undertaken by different organizations and different levels of government across the country. The Department of Justice Canada (DOJ) has long been involved in PLEI and at this time, is undertaking a renewal process to develop a new vision for its PLEI Program.

This paper has two objectives: 1) to describe recent research on Public Legal Education and Information (PLEI); this will include a study of the use of PLEI in the Ontario legal clinics, and also, a feminist participatory action research project with Spanish-speaking immigrant women living in Toronto who had experienced woman abuse; and 2) to explore how this research can play a role in the policy development process for Public Legal Education and Information at a national level.

Research

There is a distinct lack of academic literature on the subject of PLEI. It is virtually absent in legal literature and while there is an abundance of work in adult education, any connection with legal issues is limited. Previous research has been undertaken by PLEI organizations and by the Department of Justice Canada, but the resulting reports often lack a theoretical framework. They focus on needs assessments and documenting inventories of PLEI materials.

The first piece of research to be discussed in this paper was the work I did for my Masters thesis (McDonald, 2000). I explored the use of PLEI in the Ontario legal clinics which have a specific mandate to undertake this type of work, along with their casework, summary advice, community development and law reform. To better understand the work that was being undertaken in the clinics, I presented three different paradigms for PLEI suggesting a continuum. At one end of the continuum, PLEI exists as information, responding to specific needs of individuals. It will be delivered in a vacuum, however, devoid of the circumstances of the need that has arisen and often in a traditional, didactic format. Little or no attention is paid to theories of informal or formal learning. In the middle of this continuum, we find Community Legal Education, which has as its goals the understanding of the needs of a particular community and the developing of the appropriate response through education and information, often encompassing other strategies such as law reform. Finally, at the far end of the spectrum is a paradigm called "Legal Literacy", taken from international development literature that sees learning as essential in a well-developed, comprehensive approach to resolving socio-legal issues that would involve community development, mobilization and organization, and law reform. Inherent in this continuum approach is the principle that adults will learn best when they require the knowledge.

The second piece of research, my doctorate, was a feminist participatory research project with two phases. The goals of the first phase were: 1) to identify the legal education and information needs of Spanish-speaking immigrant women who have experienced domestic abuse; and 2) to determine how best to address these needs with consideration for particular factors which could impede or enhance learning: the social location of the women, pedagogy, and the impact of trauma on learning. The goal of the second phase was to develop and implement the participants' learning and action ideas.

Drawing upon relevant work in Chile, the research process was conceptualized as one that would move from individual (one-to-one, researcher and participant) to collective (the group of participants and the researcher) interaction and data collection (McDonald, 1998). This process was important in facilitating the development of trusting relationships between the researcher, participants and community partners (the Women's Program of the Centre for Spanish Speaking Peoples), and between participants themselves. A retreat and workshop were designed to address this need.

There were five key findings from the data collected during the first phase of the project (McDonald, 2001, p. 215):

- traditional legal representation can be disempowering for immigrant women who have experienced domestic abuse;
- immigrant women can make invaluable contributions to designing both legal and non-legal solutions in response to challenges;
- there is a lack of awareness in the legal profession of the need for legal information and appropriate delivery models;
- the criminal justice system does not serve all victims of domestic abuse well; and,
- immigrant women (and other women) who have experienced domestic abuse require a trustworthy source of legal information, other than government sources.

In analyzing the results of the research, I developed a paradigm of PLEI that I have called "Critical Legal Education." It draws from and builds upon the three paradigms presented in my earlier research, but is specific to the needs and context of disadvantaged individuals and groups and legal conflicts. It is defined as "a learning process that incorporates critical pedagogy to understand individual and collective needs and how to address those needs through legal and/or non-legal strategies" (McDonald, 2001, p.229). This understanding of PLEI clearly posits it within an "access to justice" framework, that learning about the law is fundamental to the legal experiences of all members of Canadian society, but particularly for those who are disadvantaged and may be excluded from the justice system for reasons of income, race, violence, etc.

The Department of Justice - Policy Directions

The Department of Justice Canada has undertaken work in PLEI for the past two decades, specifically starting in 1984 with the provision of core funding to PLEI groups across the country. It has provided PLEI itself through a variety of formats (publications, internet, etc.) particularly on issues around youth justice, family violence, firearms, victims of crime, restorative justice and child support. Its current strategic vision indicates that its goal is to ensure that the justice system is relevant, accessible and responsive to the needs of all Canadians and calls for a strengthened role for PLEI. During the past 18 months, the PLEI Program has been undertaking consultations and internal discussions to determine its new vision and develop support for that strengthened role.

A decision has been made to situate a strengthened role for PLEI within an "access to justice" framework. This framework would also incorporate the Legal Aid Program, a new initiative for the Department, and the Native Courtworkers' Program.

Access to justice is a phrase that means different things to different people (see Mossman & Hughes 2001; Currie 2001). The past three decades have fostered a recognition that the justice system does not work equally well for all members of Canadian society. The system requires financial and other resources (time, emotional commitment and energy), the ability to recognize wrongs and a desire to seek redress, certain levels of proficiency in Canada's official languages, and even certain functional competencies (e.g. sufficient education). In response to this recognition, access is about access to a justice "system", ie. legal aid, lawyers, and the courts. Yet there is also a growing understanding that the justice system cannot adequately respond to the rights and needs of all of us and thus, alternatives to the traditional, adversarial, court-based system have developed. Restorative justice, victims' rights and services, and alternative dispute resolution are just a few examples of fundamental changes in the philosophy and practice of resolving legal disputes in our country.

I introduced the continuum approach to PLEI (McDonald 2000) to all those involved in the PLEI renewal process, both inside and outside the Department. It became an acceptable way of viewing work that can mean very different things to the many different stakeholders and permitted a consensus on this definitional issue. At every point on the continuum of PLEI goals and roles, the provision of legal information and education can facilitate access to justice. It can provide basic information about rights and responsibilities, about where to go for more assistance, or steps to take oneself to access entitlements (such as income assistance). It can provide education and training for a better understanding of this legal information. In a more comprehensive approach, it can become a focal point for developing in problem solving and leadership skills, community and individual capacity building, and foster participation in the democratic process of law reform.

Information and education are the tools necessary to begin to understand one's choices, one's opportunities and one's capacities. In the legal context, they can be critical as legal conflicts can have long-term and severe consequences if left unaddressed. PLEI can be instrumental in the empowerment of disadvantaged groups (McDonald 2000; 2001). This has been recognized by the provinces of British Columbia and Ontario which have included PLEI in their legal aid legislation and support it through legal aid funding.

Fundamentally, situating PLEI within an Access to Justice Framework ensures that **all** members of Canadian society (including immigrants and those vulnerable or marginalized because of race, religion, language, culture, violence, age, or disability) and their diverse needs are taken into consideration in any PLEI initiatives. **All** members of Canadian society will reap the benefits of a strengthened role for PLEI in DOJ.

Some Thoughts on Policy Research

In the public sector, "new public management" demands that program and policy initiatives, which involve the expenditure of public funds, are based on sound empirical knowledge (Moorhead, 1998). Consequently, in the past few years, there has been a greater demand for evidence-based decision-making and accountability. The policy development process involves the definition of issues and the responses to those issues. Research has always played a role in policy development, but there is now greater recognition of its importance.

For research to contribute to the policy development process, it must be an integral part of that process (Currie, 2002, p. 10). While this may not be the best way to undertake academic research, understanding the role of research in the process can help to maximize its impact. Research can play different roles: it can help define and refine policy issues at the outset; it can respond to questions about policy options; and when an option is in place, it can be useful in monitoring implementation.

While there is a great deal of academic research that is interesting and relevant to policy issues, most of it will never come to the attention of those involved in the process. The process is insular, and despite lobbying efforts, it is ultimately not open to outsiders. There are two challenges inherent in maximizing the role of research: 1) how to bring academic research into the policy process at strategic points; and 2) how to encourage academics to undertake research that is relevant to emerging issues.

When integrated into the policy process, research becomes part of the process. Researchers, however, must maintain a critical perspective. This is difficult when one is part of the process, but is necessary. This perspective ultimately creates a "state of creative tension" (Currie, 2002, p. 14) between the research dimension and the other dimensions in the process. These other dimensions include political positions, public opinion, competing interests such as cost reductions, and many others that may be less dignified than sound research results.

As a newcomer to the government and to the PLEI renewal process that had already begun prior to my arrival, the dynamics of policy research were challenging to understand at first. Ideally, research would have been involved from the very beginning of this process. While it has not, I have been able to introduce my research on PLEI into the process at a strategic point - the situation of a strengthened role for PLEI within an Access to Justice framework. I have been able to do this through my proximity to the process (as the dedicated PLEI researcher from the Research and Statistics Division), the investment of my time, and the credibility of my research (both theses have been published in refereed legal journals).

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The PLEI renewal and policy development process is at a preliminary stage; a position paper recommends options for future direction. As issues and options are clarified, research should become more firmly integrated into the process. My role will be to build on the research already available, determine what more is needed, and build connections with the academic and non-governmental community to undertake needed research where appropriate. Research will always be one of many factors in the policy development process, but its integration from the beginning stages is essential.

Conclusion

The role of research in the policy development process is complex, but important. As the Department of Justice engages in a renewal for its PLEI program, there is an opportunity to ensure that research is integrated into the process from the beginning stages. As a researcher with expertise and credibility in the area of PLEI and being positioned strategically within the Department of Justice, this is an exciting opportunity. I have been able to introduce my research at a strategic point to support a policy direction to situate PLEI within an Access to Justice framework. Further, I will continue to work to maximize the role of research throughout the policy development process. Establishing a strong foundation of PLEI research, where there has previously been so little will help respond to both short and long-term needs in the Department. Ultimately, other dimensions may prevail when final decisions are made, but there will be satisfaction in knowing that the foundation has been laid and will

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The Role of the Outsider in Creating Education Policy: a lesson from history

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Abstract

Education is central to the way a culture produces and re-produces itself. Often, however, education curricula has been imposed on a culture by outsiders. Freire has called this "cultural invasion." Throughout history there are examples of "cultural invasion" and this paper explores the complexity of its manifestations. The importance of educators' awareness of "cultural invasion" becomes increasingly important as we move toward developing courses and programs for international audiences.

Who is the Outsider?

My use of the term 'outsider' is an attempt to role together several concepts occurring across multiple philosophical and/or political frameworks and over several decades. Freire[1] brought everyone's attention to the concept of an imposed education curriculum through his differentiation between "cultural invasion" and "cultural synthesis." Others, such as Aronowitz and Giroux,[2] attack what they call a conservative agenda to eliminate local cultures from the curriculum. They charge that the "imperative of public schooling" is to "guarantee that the economy and the democratic state will function in a mutually determining manner" in order to ensure the continuation of what was originally a eurocentric culture and civilization. It is my goal to re-focus concepts these authors articulated in order to draw attention to issues and practices that, as educators, we need to review. It is perhaps an appropriate time to begin to develop a new philosophy of education – one that will give us direction in a world that is quickly re-imagining education as a 'global' enterprise.

First, I will clarify my use of the term 'outsider.' Since it is such a common term, it can easily be misunderstood to mean something I do not intend. I chose the word outsider because I think it connotes a sense of psychological, cultural and economic distance between an educator, or a program of education, and the learners who are subjected to the educator or program. For the purpose of this paper, an outsider is any person or group who contributes to the organization of an education program, i.e., the curriculum or content, of a community, institution, or nation of a different cultural, national, or socio-economic group from their own. I will explain through examples.

We can look back at recent Canadian history for one example. During the early decades of the Twentieth Century, citizenship education was an important component in the curriculum of nearly every school in the country. Educators sought to inculcate in young minds a sense of 'nationalism' as well as knowledge of national history. It was, in a sense, cultural self-preservation through education. For the majority of Canadians or residents living in most of the provinces, the practice of teaching citizenship, or civics, strengthened feelings of identity between young people and their homeland. It was only decades later that an unwanted result of citizenship education emerged. When Aboriginal and Doukobour children were placed in residential schools in an attempt to create good Canadian citizens, we discovered that 'Canadianization' could have harmful effects.

The outsider in this case was the majority population who imposed values, allegiance, and educational policy on minority cultures within the nation. The outcome was not desirable for the majority culture or the minority culture. At the time, however, no one viewed the practice of citizenship education as "cultural invasion."

Another example, a more transparent one this time, is that of the education missionaries. CUSO and other similar groups send individuals to developing countries for the purpose of teaching skills and knowledge. The outsider's work is usually valuable to the other nation. It is often as basic as teaching agricultural practices that ensure food production or developing an awareness of health issues. The act of transmitting this knowledge to others is not a politically or culturally neutral one, however.[3] The outsider brings his/her own notion of process, values, and expectations to the situation and the learner is expected to assimilate them.

A Newfoundland Example

The two examples above show that the outsider can be either nationally internal or external. The following example shows the complexity of outsider influence from both internal and external sources.

Newfoundland is an island that is isolated enough from continental America to have developed differently. Viewing education as it developed for the small population of English and Irish settlers on the island furthers both Freire's notion of the impact of cultural invasion as well as underlines the validity of the postmodern rejection of 'one script, one knowledge,' the curriculum of "scholarly disinterestedness" of objectivist education.[4]

Newfoundland's emergence into the Twentieth Century provides rich ground to explore when looking at the effect of 'outsider' influence. Newfoundland has been a British colony, a nation, and a province of Canada (its current status). The island began to be settled by both the British and French in the 1500s. Individual families or small groups of settlers built homes all along the six thousand miles of coastline. Education came to the communities of Newfoundland slowly and haphazardly, depending on whether an itinerant missionary decided to stay in one community long enough to establish a school and be its sole teacher. The missionaries were generally British born and the education they provided would have been a basic one of teaching reading and arithmetic.

With the coming of local government to the island in the 1800s, an organized school system also emerged. The system quickly became denominational and children were sent to either the Roman Catholic schools or Protestant schools, which included schools created by the Church of England, Salvation Army, United Church and Pentecostal religions. The R.C. schools were sometimes convent schools run by Irish nuns, or boys' schools run by Jesuits from Ireland. Newfoundland created a local standard to measure students' achievement, but the standard was a mirror image of the one used in England and Ireland. (See figure 1) Until 1929 Newfoundland schools used a framework for education – grade levels, attendance requirements, achievement testing, reading and arithmetic sources – used by their United Kingdom counterparts. It would have been an education that would have been similar throughout much of North America.

Figure 1. Newfoundland Standards: I-V, and English Standards in Reading (1876)[5]

Form	Newfoundland Standard	English Standard
I	To read in monosyllables	Narrative in monosyllables
II	To read a paragraph from an elementary book	One of the narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading book used in the school
III	To read with intelligence a short paragraph from a more advanced classbook	A short paragraph from an elementary reading book used in the school
IV	To read with expression a passage of poetry or prose selected by the Superintendent	A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book used in the school

As Newfoundland continued to develop as a nation and its population grew, rather than transform its education system into something befitting an island of rural fishers who needed to learn how to eke a living from poor soil and a harsh climate, the schools continued to provide an academic curriculum. Where schools existed at all, teachers taught according to a calendar and curriculum that suited urban children, not outport children who, as soon as they were strong enough, helped their parents with the landing and processing fish.

Then in 1929, Newfoundland's future was in peril. The island nation began to slide into bankruptcy. By 1930, Newfoundland's financial situation was so grave that England was asked to intervene. The solution was the formation of a Commission of Government. The Commission, comprised of appointed British Commissioners and a British Governor oversaw government's daily business. The Commissioners decided what was best for the people of Newfoundland. The Commission continued to be Newfoundland's government until 1949 when it became a Canadian province.[6]

The Commission of Government intended, as its first act in reconstructing education on the island, to abolish the denominational education system and replace it with a single system. The Commissioners had not counted on the power of the Catholic priests to prevent this change being made. The Newfoundland population was nearly evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants. The large urban centre of St. John's, however, had slightly more Catholics than Protestants. In addition, priests and ministers were averse to losing the power they had amassed in each of the small communities where they were in charge. From the pulpits people were encouraged to resist changing the educational system and, finally, in 1935, the Commission retrenched its efforts.

The Commission decided instead to establish new schools in new communities. New towns came into being during the years of the Commission. Logging towns and mining towns were established in areas of the island's interior. As well, new agricultural communities were created by enticing soldiers returning from the Second World War with a free plot of land, so long as they farmed the land. In each of these communities the Commission established non-denominational schools and established curriculum of its own making.[7]

Neither the Commissioners attempt to reconstruct education, nor the church leaders attempt to preserve it as it had been were victories for local education. Instead it was a victory for one set of 'outsiders' over another. The education system as it existed did not suit the needs of the communities. In fact, very few children attended school, but rather than address this problem, priests and ministers filled their flock with distrust of other religions and the Commission. Essentially people were pawns in a struggle for control between the Commissioners and the churches.[8]

The second of the groups to focus on education focused on adult education. A local community development initiative, created by 30 members of the St. John's elite and leaders in the education system, formed the Newfoundland Adult Education Association (N.A.E.A.) in 1929. The purpose of the Association was to:

- seek to "co-operate with the Bureau of Education" and to work in "harmony with the educational authorities of the several religious denominations;"
- that it would "seek the formation of reading circles, evening classes, working-men's clubs and women's clubs;"
- that it would "encourage the use of books," the use of the radio "for educational purposes,"
- and finally, that it would "promote public lectures," and encourage local branches to form.

The leaders of the N.A.E.A. initially approached the Carnegie Corporation for funding for books for a travelling library. The first request was followed by a second, for $6,000, to support the program of the Association. The first $1,000 of the grant was targeted for sending 2 teachers, one man and one woman, to a special training program in South Carolina for teachers of adults. The Carnegie Corporation suggested that a good model for the N.A.E.A. to follow was that of the Clemson College Opportunity School. The Opportunity School for adults wasa program started by an educator in South Carolina who had received Carnegie funding to begin the program.

Once the Commission of Government was well entrenched in Newfoundland, the Carnegie Corporation ceased to provide further grants and did not appear to be involved in Newfoundland developments. In 1935, on a last visit a Corporation executive made to Newfoundland, Robert Lester observed that there was so much activity trying to improve the lot of Newfoundlanders that the island was a "jig saw puzzle of Newfoundland uplift forces."[9] The Corporation did, however, keep track of Newfoundland's progress. Correspondence between various officials of the Corporation and Moses Coady, of the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia, show that the Corporation actively supported the cooperative movement philosophy of the Antigonish Movement. In 1938, the Corporation paid Coady to go to Newfoundland on a speaking tour, even though the Corporation policy was to not "interfere in local situations"[10]

The N.A.E.A. had just formed when Newfoundland became a ward of Britain. The Association continued to provide a program of adult education and was given its own operating budget by the Commission of Government in 1936. The Commission did not attempt to influence the education program provided by the N.A.E.A.–generally, the Association's goals were the same as the Commissions: to provide a non-denominational setting where adults could learn to read, and to appreciate literature and learn history.[11]

The N.A.E.A. had a plan to bring culture, values, and an urban esthetic to rural Newfoundland. Its program and purpose was to improve people, and its method was by transmission. The values and background of the teachers sent to rural areas armed with the agenda of the N.A.E.A. were as foreign to residents of Twillingate or Little Harbour as were the values and background of the Commissioners. Many residents attended the program of the Opportunity Schools but there was little lasting effect.

What is the Lesson?

Newfoundland's history of education has been one made almost entirely by outsiders. The competing groups above all sought to dominate the curriculum and agenda of both the school system and the education of adults. Jerome Bruner writes that "education is not an island, but part of the continent of culture."[12] The notion that education belongs to the people of a community or a nation and should reflect the values and lives of those people is one that has enjoyed legitimate currency in our shared belief about education. The model that is often followed, however, is one that more closely resembles Freire's description of "cultural invasion." We have an intellectual understanding that learners must feel connected to the educational process in which they are engaged (Bruner, Freire, Aronowitz & Giroux). Meanwhile, we create programs such as Head Start (in the U.S.) and the Atlantic Provinces Education Foundation (APEF) in Atlantic Canada[13] because we hope to cure a deficiency in those same learners. As educators we continue to believe that we can impose approved values and culture through curriculum.

We are now entering a world of global education. There are many universities combining efforts in order to provide new programs for world-wide distribution. Corporations and agencies are eager to enter into agreements, a mix of public and private, in order to attract 'buyers' into the educational marketplace. It is a new era for education in so far as the potential for mass-produced education has never been greater.

While many fear the use of technology to produce education programs, few fear "cultural invasion." The notion that education "off the shelf" has little power to affect children's or adult's learning seems to have again eluded our notice. The past has shown us repeatedly that learners do not thrive or become transformed by curriculum that is foreign to them or their needs. How do we incorporate our understanding of this simple concept into our actions as educators the next time we become involved in planning courses for international delivery?

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[4] Aronowitz and Giroux, p68.

[5] Phillip McCann (1994). *Schooling in a Fishing Society: Education and Economic Conditions in Newfoundland and Labrador 836-1986.* St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland and Institute of Social and Economic Research, p. 270.

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[7] Newfoundland Government (1938). "Papers Relating to a Long Range Reconstruction Policy." Interim Report (vol 1) by J..H. Gorvin,

[8] There are several writers whose work has touched on this highly political issue, among them:

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[9] Robert Lester, Carnegie Corporation, to Frank Keppel, President, Carnegie Corporation, letter, October, 1935. (See Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library Archive, Newfoundland files).

[10] A series of letters between various members of the Newfoundland Education ministry and the Carnegie Corporation president as well as letters between various members of the Carnegie Corporation show a continued interest in Newfoundland throughout the period of the Commission of Government. See Memorial University Archives, Office of the President, files for the Carnegie Corporation, Keppel, F.P., and Lester, Robert. Through the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, see the "Newfoundland" files.

[11] Several documents belonging to the N.A.E.A., including its "Memorandum of Association" in 1929 and a brochure its members produced entitled "What is it? What are its Aims?" in 1930 clearly articulate the goals and purpose of the association. Information regarding Opportunity Schools in Newfoundland can be found in the *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol 32(3) "Adult Education in Newfoundland" and in "Bulletins" of the Opportunity Schools published in 1932 and 1933. These can be found in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archive, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Higgins Collection [Collection 087].

[12] Jerome Bruner (1996). *The Culture of Education.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press: 11.

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Constructing Resistance:
A geo-cultural analysis of promotional material on home-based work

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Abstract: Promotional literature on home-based work ranges from signs on traffic posts promising high incomes and flexibility, to advertisements in newspapers offering assembly work. This paper draws on feminist literature on "resistance" in order to theorize and make sense of the promotional literature used in different social and geographical neighbourhoods within the city of Toronto.

There are a number of reasons that have prompted us to explore the connections between resistance and home-based work. First, feminists such as bell hooks (1990) discuss the important role that homeplace played for Black American women as a site of resistance to the oppressive public sphere. Similarly, Patricia Hill Collins (1990) suggests that black domestic workers working in middle class white homes resist by superficially adhering to prevailing rules. Women do this by, for example, playing directly into white stereotypes by ensuring children's college attendance but not revealing this to employers. These feminists suggest homes are often spaces within which women's resistance can be situated.

The link between home-based work and resistance also seems evident to us as a result of interviews with paid homeworkers done for previous projects. For example, the interviews done by one of the authors of this paper with home-based self-employed women provide strong evidence of the fact that attempting to set up a business in the home for women is in fact a very proactive response to labour market exclusion. This is especially so for immigrant women and women of colour, who have neither the cultural, financial or social advantage often thought of as imperative for business success, nor the large, suburban homes which are required to challenge the delegitimacy of home-based work. Doing paid work within the home takes initiative, effort, and energy that in some ways exceeds what is needed in public sphere paid work (Mirchandani, *forthcoming*).

These observations have led us to a question – does home-based work represent a form of resistance? A number of factors prevent us from unequivocally advancing such a position. First, research to date indicates that there are a number of contradictions within the home-based workforce. Census data have revealed that over two million Canadian workers do some or all of their paid work within their homes (Statistics Canada, 2001). As Barker and Christensen note, however, this workforce consists of jobs which have varying degrees of opportunity for career growth, control over work, and security (1998, p. 8). Boris and Daniels argue that "to evaluate homework as a labour system, we must clearly distinguish between employer, independent contractor and employee" (1989, p. 5). At one end of the spectrum of the hierarchy of production are poorly paid pieceworkers who have long work hours, extremely low hourly wages, no job security or prospects for career growth and little control over their work flows (Borowy et al., 1994; Das Gupta, 1996; Ng 1999). At the other end of the spectrum are highly paid salaried employees who have autonomy over their work and skills which are in high demand (Bredin, 1996). Located throughout are workers who are self-employed, some of whom own their own businesses and have multiple clients, and others who are in fact "disguised employees" (Gringeri, 1994, p. 26) who "[sell] their services to a single buyer who has significant control over their work, much like an employer" (Hughes, 1999, p. 29).

Not only are workers at home an extremely diverse group, but they also occupy an ambivalent position vis a vis the economic status quo. On one level, homeworkers, by the very location of their work in the sphere traditionally associated with unpaid reproductive work, challenge traditional understandings of "public" and "private", "work" and "nonwork". On another level, homeworkers sometimes serve to support and "hold up" entire industries, such as parts of the garment industry in Canada, which rely on poorly paid workers for its very sustainability. Highly paid teleworkers, too, often uphold management systems characteristic of the new capitalism, such as Management by Objectives (MBO) or Results Based Management in order to demonstrate their productivity needed to preserve the opportunity to work at home (Mirchandani, 1998; 1999).

These ambivalent and contradictory trends suggest that home-based workers cannot be understood in the ways in which resistance has conventionally been theorized – that is as an opposing force to power. This is, in fact, a common characterization of resistance, and one that is influenced by labour process theorists as well as the work of Michel Foucault. Labour process theorists, for example, define resistance as "a reactive process whereby agents embedded in power relations [such as factory workers] actively oppose initiatives by other agents [such as management]" (Jermier et. al., 1994). Foucault stresses the continuity between resistance and power, arguing that "resistance is present wherever power is present" (Smart, 1985). Foucault notes that analysis of resistance in fact allows for new understandings of the relations of power.

Feminist theorists have developed a number of critiques of these definitions of resistance. Groves and Chang (drawing on Abu Lughod) argue that characterizations of women's attempts to negotiate and manage the power relations in their daily lives as resistance challenges the construction of women as victims. At the same time, there is a tendency to romanticize resistance and cast the resistor as heroine which blinds us to the complex relations of domination and subordination within which acts of resistance are embedded (1999). Susan Bordo (1993) extends this argument by noting that not only is the romanticization of resistance dangerous in its misrepresentation of the complex nature of inequality, but also in its masking of the overriding tendency towards normalization of the dominant order of the day.

The difficulty of understanding resistance as a set of acts is also reinforced by Pile (1997), who draws attention to the deeply contextual nature of resistance. He draws on Fanon's (1959) discussion of the role of the veil in the Algerian struggle against French colonialism. When the veil was constructed by the colonizers as a sign of the patriarchal nature of Algerian society, for women freedom fighters the veil became a sign of resistance to European colonialism. Inaccessible and forbidden to the European settlers, veiled women faced intense scrutiny; freedom fighters responded by removing their veils and wearing western dress which signalled assimilation. While in many ways Fanon's characterization of Algerian women's role in the movement is problematic, the reconstruction of events above does provide support for the contextually-determined nature of resistance.

In order to explore the various relationships between resistance and power in home-based work, we conducted an analysis of the use of the language of resistance in advertisements of home-based work. Methodologically, this paper draws on traditions of ethnography, geographical analysis and feminist methodology. A geo-cultural ethnography of home-based work was conducted in the summer of 2001. Notices advertising the availability of home-based work posted in public areas and printed in community newspapers were systematically collected from two neighbourhoods in Toronto.

The neighbourhoods were selected based on an analysis of socio-economic data available from the City of Toronto. The Eglinton-Lawrence neighbourhood has a low proportion of recent immigrants and a high per capita income level. The York West neighbourhood has a high proportion of recent immigrants and a low per capita income level. The context in which home-based work occurs differs dramatically between these two areas. In the Eglinton-Lawrence area, 65% of households are comprised of two people or less, 59% of all homes are owned and the average income is $86,700. In York West, by sharp contrast, 57% of all households have three or more people, 69% of all private dwellings are rented and the average income is $37,341.

In analyzing the advertising strategies as well as the nature of work advertised in the two neighbourhoods, we found that Eglinton-Lawrence and York West have different geographies of home-based work. Steve Pile (1997) notes that resistance is not only "to power" but also "for power". This duality is represented in the home-based work offered in the two neighbourhoods. "Resistance" is embodied in the advertisements and constructed in different ways in the two neighbourhoods.

Resistance in the era of the image: advertising strategies and nature of work

The strategies of advertising home-based work differed substantially in the two neighbourhoods. In the Eglinton-Lawrence area, the key strategy used was a blitz of street signs around prominent, closely-situated intersections. The signs were large, approximately four feet by two feet, professionally-produced and colourful. On one day during the survey period, 19 signs were counted at three main intersections. The sign read, "*Would you like to earn $3,000 to $5,000 per week or more, part-time from your home? Not MLM. No selling*". These schemes promised high incomes with supervisory and consulting positions. Two weeks after the signs were initially observed, all but one had been removed. There were a few ads in community newspapers but no postings for home-based work in public spaces except for street corners.

There was only one street sign discovered in the York West area, a small cardboard laminated sign, approximately one foot by two feet. It was white with black writing and was posted nine feet high on a post near a bus stop. It was very difficult to see and read since it was placed on a major city street. The sign read, "*Work from home. Free training*". The prominent strategy in York West for advertising home-based work was posting notices in public spaces, such as laundromats and shopping malls, as well as placing ads in community newspapers.

Embedded in this different advertising style are different constructions of the "ideal" home-based worker. Signs posted high on posts seem to be targeted to the drive-by commuter whereas signs in laundromats, bus shelters and community newspapers seem to reflect the lower socio-economic status of York West residents. In addition, the different locations of signs reflects particular attitudes towards street and neighbourhood cleanliness; expensive, laminated signs are in keeping with the litter free and well maintained streets and parks in the Eglinton-Lawrence neighbourhood.

An analysis of the home-based advertisements reveals a differing construction of the ideal home-based worker. The ads can be divided into two categories, those that are explicit about the work content and those that offer work information. In both categories, the people in the Eglinton-Lawrence area were constructed as home-based employers and independent contractors. These advertisements promised the respondents freedom, control, the use of their skills, the achievement of their full potential, fun, extra money and time. The explicit work content advertisements aimed at the York West area targeted respondents as home-based employees with the promise of help, free training and time. The work information advertisements in the York West area appealed to the respondents as independent contractors. What is interesting (and we hope to explore this further in our empirical work) is that the people offering home-based work are quite likely home-based themselves, which adds a complexity to our conventional distinctions between employers and workers, powerholders and resistors.

The explicit work content advertisements were for assembly-related jobs such as stuffing envelopes, assembling jewelry and producing crafts. All of the assembly-based work required a registration and start-up fee ranging from $29 for a stuffing envelope scheme to $64.95 for a bracelet starter kit. The material prominent in the York West region clearly constructed the potential respondents as employees. One ad stated, *"Your job is simply to stuff brochures into brochure envelopes, and mail them as per our instructions. At $7.00 per brochure, if you're* ***required*** *to mail 175 stuffed brochures you'll receive $1,225."* The ideal home-based workers in the York West area are those who don't enjoy or need complexity in their work. Their tasks are simply laid out and stated. This worker is freed from workplace inconsistencies and politics by locating their workplace in the home. They require few skills and are expected to perform this simple job exactly as instructed. The only advertisement found in the Eglinton-Lawrence area for assembly work was built with a very different set of assumptions about the potential workers. Listed under the Business Opportunities section, the ad read, *"Discovery Toys. Raise your income while raising your family. Fun, flexible business opportunity. Busy holiday season ahead."* The ideal home-based worker in Eglinton-Lawrence is a creative stay-at-home parent with the multi-tasking ability to both undertake this work and raise children. This assembly job is an opportunity for supplemental income that utilizes existing business skills.

The work information advertisements constructed the home-based workers in both areas as independent contractors or employers but the language used is markedly different. An ad found in the York West area states, "*Work from Home!! (We'll help you). 427 billion dollar industry! I used to say, 'I sure hope things will change'. Then I learned that the only way things are going to change for me is when I change."* The same scheme was advertised in the Eglinton-Lawrence area as " *Urgently seeking homemakers, teachers, business owners, healthcare professionals. Scientifically validated proprietary formula presents lucrative global home-based opportunity in the emerging $trillion wellness industry"*.

Construction of a home-based community

An interesting pattern of ad quantity, placement and proximity was noticed. In the York West community papers, it was not uncommon to find four home-based work ads on the same page of the classified section of *Share* or *Caribbean Camera*. In an analysis of 26 issues of *Share* magazine dating from October 12, 2000 to August 2, 2001, there were 50 advertisements for home-based work information. The ads appeared to have no connection to each other as they provided unique phone numbers and website addresses. Some of the addresses were www.moneydreamshappiness.com, www.moneynlifestyle.com, www.earninternationally.com, www.makemoneyallday.com Despite the illusion of a large diversity of opportunity, all of the ads led to either a "Home-based Work Directory" or to the same "proven plan" promising an income of $2,000 to $5,000 per month, full or part-time. The nature of the work behind the "proven plan" was not revealed and the phone message that was at the end of all the different phone numbers was virtually identical. In the Eglinton-Lawrence, this blitz pattern was found on prominent street corners. The sheer number of advertisements in both areas seemed to lend legitimacy to the scheme as well as created the illusion of a community of home-based workers.

Conclusions

Susan Bordo (1993) notes that in the "era of the image", the rhetoric of resistance has itself been pressed into the service of the normalization of the dominant order of the day. Drawing on an analysis of Reebok commercials, she notes that resistant elements and their normalizing messages co-exist so that it is difficult to clearly separate power from resistance. In both the Eglinton-Lawrence and York West neighbourhoods, "ideal" home-based workers, which the ads are directed towards, are those who want to resist the work norms within the traditional labour market. Home-based work is presented as a form of resistance. Yet, the form of resistance promoted is in many cases a form of co-optation – encouraging people to become powerholders, employers, and possible exploiters.

Using some of the insights on the nature of resistance to understand promotional literature on home-based work allows us to pose a number of questions which we hope to explore in further empirical work. These include: what function does the language of resistance serve?; who is the resistor and who is the oppressor, given that many of these advertisements are placed by home-based workers?; how is the home constructed as an ideal location of resistance?; how do these ads represent an attempt towards "resistance for power"?

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Policy and Learning Program for the Malaysian Elderly: An Analysis

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After more than four decades of gaining Independence, Malaysia is showing a trend of graduating to become an older nation. The population is undergoing an aging process. However, with an uncertain global economy, early retirement age, and better healthcare system, the growing older population has the potential to become a liability to the nation. Is it possible to turn this potential liability into an asset? Does the infrastructure for such turnover processes exist? If so, are they adequate? To address these questions, analysis on various documents related to the elderly in Malaysia was carried out. This paper presents the deliberation. The Asian Bureau of Adult Education (ASPBAE) partly funded the study.

Elderly in Malaysia

Malaysia is situated in the Southeast Asia. The country is divided into two regions, East and West Malaysia. East Malaysia is situated in the island of Borneo, while West Malaysia is in the peninsular, sandwiched by Thailand in the north and Singapore in the south. Malaysia gains it's independence in 1957 after almost five centuries of ruling by the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and Japanese. The population currently stands at 23 million and of that 6% are elderly. Three major races (Malay, Chinese, and Indian) and numerous ethnic minorities made up the country's multi-ethnic population. The predominant Malay constitutes about 60% of the population; Chinese, 30%, and Indian, 10 %. In a modern Malaysia, each race continues to retain its cultural heritage and identity while living and working along side each other in harmony.

Blessed with rich natural and primary resources, and relatively politically stable, Malaysia is able to enjoy remarkable economic growth for decades until recently when the Asian Economic Crisis hits its shore in 1998. Prior to that, the government came out with Vision 2020, an initiative to turn Malaysia into a develop nation by the year 2020. Aggressive efforts and massive resources were put into action to propel the economy in the shortest possible time. Training the future workforce became a main agenda. As [illegible] latent effect, other groups of the population, including the elderly had been left to the sideline.

Similarly, the elder group command less than favorable interest in the academic and economic arena. Only few studies had been conducted on them. An analysis on papers published in the Welfare Journal by the Department of Social Welfare Malaysia (DSWM) revealed only five papers had been written on the elderly since 1991 from a total of more than sixty papers (Jurnal Kebajikan, 1991-2001).

The few available studies show that: there are more elderly women than men (Mohd. Yatim, 1999), they remain healthy and able (Muhamad, 2001; Tan et al., 1999; Sebestian, 1997), they increasingly had to fend for themselves (Tan, 1995), and they are concern about their health, spiritual and community at this stage of their life (Muhamad, 2001; Merriam and Muhamad, 2000)

Policy and Programs for the Elderly

About two decades ago, Chan (1981) saw the tendency that the elderly would be neglected. Since then, no substantive work could be traced until about another decade. However, the declaration in 1992, of the 1st October as the Day of the Elderly, had provided a new lease of life for the hope that the elderly would not be neglected after all. A formal recognition of the elderly came about with the introduction of The National Policy for Older Citizen (NPOC) in 1995 after a concerted effort by various NGOs pressing for the formulation of such policy (Tengku Aizan, 1995). The focus of the policy is to develop a society of older people who are healthy, treated with dignity, and possess high social esteem (Muhamad and Kamis, 1999). However, programs that translate the policy into action only came into being in September 1999 with the publication of the Action Plan for the NPOC (APNPOC). Notably, the plan came about nearly twenty years after Chan's (1981) call – a very slow action indeed.

Upon analyzing both the policy and the action plan, Muhamad and Kamis (1999) concluded that only the policy is relevant in meeting the needs of the demographically diverse elderly. The objectives of the policy are to: enhance the respect and self worth of the elderly, improve the potential for the elderly to live independently, make available facilities to care and protect the elderly, encourage efforts by various bodies to provide comprehensive programs and activities for the elderly, and support research efforts on issues related to the elderly. However, the subsequent action plan seems far short of expectation. The plan is more a collection of existing programs already run by various governmental agencies. A few non-governmental organizations do offer programs that cater to the elderly specific needs. Coordination and collaboration between these two providers is wanting. As a whole the plan did not adequately provide clear direction for others to follow. For a start, the plan is supposed to meet the elderly needs, but not much is known about them, let alone their needs!

Elderly Learning

Recently some efforts had been taken to look into the elderly learning. A case study revealed that they learn informally, spiritually driven for fulfillment of meaningful life (Muhamad and Merriam, 2000). A country wide survey on 1794 elderly shows that slightly a quarter participates in non-formal learning activities (Muhamad, 2001). The major learning agenda is religious related to be prepared for after life. Other motives for participation are to increase knowledge/skill, interest, meet others and occupy free time. Participation in learning activities declines with age (Muhamad, 2001).

The programs planned for the elderly as laid out in the APNPOC indicate lack of insight about their learning needs. The planners do not anticipate the fact that the elderly view learning as lifelong (Muhamad, 2001; Merriam and Muhamad, 2000). There is limited learning program for the elderly (Omar, 2001). The available programs do not adequately meet the elderly biopsychosocial situation, needs and interest. These factors deterred them from participating in learning activities (Muhamad, 2001). The learning programs offered seem to be centered on those living at the homes of the aged, leaving out the majority of other elderly. Further scrutiny revealed that there is no specific program for the two groups of elderly with profound learning needs namely, women and the urban dwellers (Muhamad and Kamis, 1999). The current initiative towards a policy on lifelong learning is much anticipated, but apparently the focus is on formal institution education and training.

Elderly as asset

An aging population can have serious implications as it can lead to increase in societal dependency of the elderly. In fact such trend was noticeable since the seventies (Chan, 1981). Today, the situation is much more rampant. The call for productive ageing (Tan, 1995) is appropriate. Effort must be made to ensure the possibility of the elderly become a liability to society be reduced and instead find ways to turn them into an asset. The following subsections discuss two perspective about having the elderly as asset to the society namely, economic and social-cultural.

Economic perspective

Malaysia adopted the British retirement system where mandatory retirement for government employee is set at 55 (Mohd. Rashid, 2000). The government also introduced a system of optional early retirement at 40 for women and 45 for men to provide opportunity for a carrier change. The private sectors are free to set their own system of retirement, but most seem to follow the government's system. After repeated calls, last year the government finally raised the retirement age to 56. This is still relatively lower than many Western countries as well as that of Malaysia's own immediate neighbors. Thailand and Singapore set the mandatory retirement age at 60 years and 67 years respectively, while the Philippines set it at 65 years (Mohd. Rashid, 2000). Furthermore, a high percentage of employees suggested that the retirement age should be raised to 60 years, as they believe they are still healthy and able (Chien,1990). Further research conducted a few years later continues to strengthen this belief (Tan et al., 1999; Sebestien, 1997).

The number of retiring government employee is increasing. Each year around 18,000 people retire from the government (Mohd. Rashid, 2000). With declining death rate due to better nutrition and health facility, the pool of the ageing populace swells considerably. Between 1980 and 1991 alone the rate of increase of ageing population stands at 9.5% (Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, 1991). How much does it cost for the government to financially support the retired elderly? The figure stands at RM 2.1 billion in 1994 (Perbendaharaan Malaysia, 1994), and had increase to more than 7 billion in 2000, and the figure continue to rise. If nothing is done to arrest the issue, the elderly is definitely going to be a liability to the country.

With a substantial amount of the country's resources spent on the retirees, does this mean these groups of elderly lead a comfortable life? Unfortunately, the figures suggest otherwise. Apparently, many retirees could not afford to maintain their standard of living (Ithnin, 1995). Ithnin noted that nearly 70 % of the retirees received less than RM 500 per month. A newspaper reported that there are those who live below the country's poverty line (Mohd. Rashid, 2000). A survey on the near elderly in public service shows that they anticipate financial constraint to be the major challenge upon retirement (Muhamad, 2002). Majority of the elderly depends on their immediate family members for material and financial support (Mohd. Yatim, 1989), and with longer life expectancy, and uncertain economic climate, this can prove to be burdensome.

General trend shows that Malaysians are marrying at a later age. It is anticipated that many of them still have young children to look after even after retiring and becoming elderly (Muhamad and Kamis, 1999). With reduce income after retirement, they face financial burden if they failed to seek reemployment. Finding job placement for retirees is problematic especially those from the lower category employees (Mohd. Rashid, 2000). Labor force participation rate of senior citizen in the 60-64 years old cohort group in 1991 was only 35.5% (Jabatan

Perangkaan Malaysia, 1998). In fact, unemployment among elderly had been found to be rampant since the eighties (Chan, 1981). Little wonder they become disillusion with the government and society (Baginda, 1992). Being able, healthy and energetic (Tan et al., 1999) and yet unable to contribute towards the betterment of their financial standing and also, to the country's economy. For those who treat work as their life, retirement becomes more like a period of bereavement, which is a pity since life after work can easily last for another 20 years or more (Hamzah, 1995). There is a dire need to turn the welfare-oriented approach into a productive ageing approach. Given appropriate learning opportunity, the elderly can be a consumer of economy, and thus, a valuable economic asset.

Socio-cultural perspective

It is a known fact that the status of elderly is rapidly changing, and this is especially so in Malaysia where a very high degree of urbanization is taking place (Chow, 1996). Like in many other Asian nations, the elderly in Malaysia is the first generation to have undergone such experience related to urbanization and industrialization. The urban elderly would find life most trying and difficult, as it is entirely different from that of their ancestors. It is well accepted that social change occurs constantly in society (Vago, 1996) but its rates vary. The rate is going in almost exponential fashion in Malaysia where transition from an agrarian to industrialized society happen in less than four decades.

A study by Cowgill and Holmes (1972), shows that the elderly status in modernizing societies tends to suffer a decline. Chan (1981) supported this notion by illustrating that in the case of the Malay and the Indian, the traditional role of the elderly in determining the age of marriage and in spouse selection was fast disappearing. The extended family system has also shown a steady decline. However, does this mean the modern society is treating the elderly with lesser respect? Interestingly, the findings on the study of the urbanized Malays indicate that they continue to hold on strongly to the Malay cultural values (Harun, 1991).Thus, the call by Harun (1999) for family institution to continue to play leading role in elderly care is timely and appropriate.

According to Abdullah (1996), although the various races in the country continue to retain their heritage and identity, they share some striking semblance in value systems such as being collectivistic and hierarchical. Being collectivist means, for Malaysian, identity is determined by the collectivity or group to which one belongs, not by individual characteristics. As for the later, Malaysians are hierarchical in a sense that power and wealth are not distributed equally. This inequality manifests itself in the notion of respect for the elders and the authority. Here, the elderly command high respect in a family for they are looked up upon as the wiser ones. Their role as mentors, advisor, and wise elders inspired them to continually learn (Merriam and Muhamad, 2000). Recent study on the Malays indicate that respect for the authority is on a decline, but respect for the elders continue to be strongly observed (Kamis, 2002). Kamis also found that the Malays who are in their forties, and of the second generation, indicate the readiness to shoulder the traditional responsibility and expectation placed upon them by the society, a situation in stark contrast from that in the West (Sheehy, 1995). It can be assumed that the elderly, being the first generation, are even more ready for the expexted role. What this suggests is that, the elderly should be entrusted with an even bigger role in society, such that the respect bestowed upon them and their vast experience can be put to work for society betterment.

Summing up

A policy for the elderly in Malaysia has been instituted. There is a need for the strategy to be strengthened to ensure that policy translates into appropriate programs to adequately meet and match the elderly biopsychosocial, cultural and economic needs.

The elderly is a valuable asset. However, there seems to be lack of understanding, as well as infrastructure, to effectively utilize this asset in a way that benefits the economy and society. Providing appropriate learning opportunity to elderly is a way of letting them lead a life of productive ageing. Failure to recognize and arrest the issue can result in the elderly be swept further away to the sideline by the wave of modernization and rapid urbanization, and end up as yet another neglected species.

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Enlarged or Obscured?
Speculations on the Evolving Boundaries of Adult Education under the Lifelong Learning Policies in Japan

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Abstract: This paper presents the results of my literature-based research on the evolving roles and nature of adult education under the lifelong learning policies currently taking place in Japan, focusing on the enforcement of the Lifelong Learning Law in 1990 and the revisions of the Social Education Law in 1999 and 2001.

Introduction

Japan is unique in that it has two major laws which deal with adult education. Historically, a law called the 'Social Education Law' has been the backbone of public adult education practice in post-war Japan since 1949. Following UNESCO's call for lifelong education, however, Japan started promoting this new concept as a central policy for adult and community education, and passed the 'Law Concerning the Development of Mechanisms and Measures for Promoting Lifelong Learning' (the Lifelong Learning Promotion Law) in 1990. Has the nation's initiative in creating a 'learning society' through the enforcement of the new Lifelong Learning Promotion Law enlarged the boundaries of adult education, making it a tool for personal and social transformation by ensuring every citizen's right to learn? Or has it obscured the roles of adult education or even diminished its potential by using the law as a means of governmental control in the public domain? Interestingly, the Social Education Law, which seemed to have been almost blown over by the storm of lifelong learning since the mid 1980s, went through two controversial revisions in 1999 and 2001, a full 40 years after the previous major revision in 1959. What caused the Social Education Law to be focused on and revised again after such a long interval? In order to answer these questions, I conducted an extensive literature review and contextualized social education and lifelong learning as two separate concepts, while reconsidering the intricate and paradoxical roles of adult education in the era of lifelong learning.

Data Source and Framework for Analysis

My data sources for this study are mainly in Japanese. My primary references are articles collected from *Monthly Social Education* and *Social Education* (acclaimed journals in the field of adult education in Japan) that were issued between 1989 and 2001. Articles written by scholars and practitioners in these two journals furthered my knowledge about the debate regarding both the enactment of the Lifelong Learning Promotion Law in 1990, the revisions of the Social Education Law in 1999 and 2001, and the historical and political contexts of adult education in Japan. As a framework for analyzing the public policies, I basically focused on the four points suggested by Selman et al. (1998); (1) the precursor circumstances, (2) the development process, (3) the implementation, and (4) subsequent circumstances. Following these four steps, I started by analyzing the Social Education Law and the Lifelong Learning Promotion Law individually. Then I made these two separate concepts converge in my analysis of the recent revision of the Social Education Law, while speculating about the evolving boundaries of adult education in relation to ongoing lifelong learning policies and administrative reforms.

Social Education Policy

The Concept and Principle of 'Social Education'

It should be noted that the liberal education of adults, traditionally known in the West as 'adult education' has been called 'social education' in Japan since the term was first introduced in newspapers around the late 18th century. The foundation of the current social education system, however, was established when the Social Education Law was passed in 1949 with the help of the American occupation. Although Japanese social education practice currently lacks an emphasis on adult basic education and vocational training, it embraces a wide range of cultural, leisure, sports and community learning activities for youth and adults in non-formal settings. The main principle of social education is twofold: (1) to ensure every citizen's right to learn, in particular those who lack a proper school education, and (2) to promote participatory democracy by enlightening people through learning in their own communities (Ogawa, 1987; Sato, 1998). Such a philosophy of social education has traditionally been embodied through free or low-cost learning activities at local *Kominkan* (Citizen's Public Halls) located all over Japan.

The Social Education Law and Kominkan

The Social Education Law was enacted in 1949 as a part of the post-war new educational framework. Based on an awareness of the historical fact that social education had been manipulated as a tool for military purposes by the Imperial government, the Social Education Law aims to establish a comprehensive system of social education that ensures the freedom of adult education that is rooted in the local community. More concretely, the law defines the scope of social education, and stipulates the roles of government, Boards of Education, administrative staff, and facilities. One of the distinct features of the Law, which has caused many adult educators to appreciate it as a symbol of democratic education, (e.g. Aso & Hori, 1997, Ogawa, 1987) is located in Chapter 5. This chapter ensures that the Boards of Education of cities, towns and villages have complete authority to make decisions regarding the establishment and operation of *Kominkan*. It also obligates each *Kominkan* to set up a *Kominkan* Operational Council consisting of various community leaders as a means of getting residents to participate in the operation of their own *Kominkan*. Consequently, each local *Kominkan* can independently decide the content of their programs depending on the needs of community residents.

The law stipulates that the role of government administration is to 'encourage' social education practice by 'creating an environment' that 'allows every citizen to cultivate himself by getting involved in learning activities anytime and anywhere' (Article 3). Therefore, the concrete action taken by the government to implement the law was mainly to found facilities and agencies for adult learning. Thanks to the law, 17,347 *Kominkan*, 1,950 public libraries, 799 museums, 1,154 Youth Houses, and 213 Women's Education Centres were established in all over Japan by

1990. The number of classes and courses offered at those facilities were estimated at 74,006 with over 120,000,000 people taking courses (Aso & Hori, 1997). Clearly, from these numbers, the post-war social education policy supported by the Social Education Law seems to have successfully achieved part of its goal through establishing a solid foundation of locally based social education throughout the country, in particular, by providing the facilities.

The contents of learning taking place at *Kominkan*, however, do not necessarily realize the twofold principle of adult education. In spite of the stereotypical image that the courses provided by *Kominkan* reflect a 'self-less' community in that they deal with local issues, many studies (e.g. Akimoto, 2001) criticized the current trend of leisure-oriented 'self-interest' courses at *Kominkan*. The study of the historical development of *Kominkan* over the last 50 years delineated how *Kominkan* had played a role in fostering democratic local movement between the late 1960s and 1970s. Since the 1980s, however, the 'de-politicization of *Kominkan*' has become mainstream. And the introduction of lifelong learning as a new educational policy in the mid 1980s seems to have accelerated the 'de-localization' of traditional social education practice.

Lifelong Learning Policy

From Lifelong Education to Lifelong Learning

The concept of 'lifelong education' was introduced to Japan around the end of the 1960s. The 1972 UNESCO's Faure Report justified the concept as a relevant one to Japanese society, where there had been loud criticism of an overemphasis on school education. Ogawa (1991) divided the process of the development of lifelong learning in Japan into three periods: (1) the introductory period (from the late 1960s to the beginning of the 1970s), (2) the development period (between the beginning of the 1970s and the mid 1980s), and (3) the turning period (from the mid 1980s up to now). He argued that the aim of 'lifelong education' during the first two periods was to enrich learning throughout life, and that the development of locally governed *Kominkan* programs and the idea of the 'recurrent education' were emphasized. During the third period, however, the concept of 'lifelong learning' has been twisted and incorporated into national policies as a means of coping with social and economic problems confronting society. It is in this context that Wilson (2001) suggested that 'lifelong learning' might be seen as a 'lifeline' in today's Japan. The name change from 'lifelong education' to 'lifelong learning' indicated a new emphasis on individuals as self-directed agents of their own learning (Wilson, 2001). It was also suggested that the use of the word 'learning' would break the Ministry of Education's monopoly in the education system and would encourage other Ministries to collaborate in an all embracing system (Thomas, Uesugi, & Shimada, 1997). It is not surprising, therefore, that a new law, which enabled Japan to realize these plans, was put in effect less than two years after the 1988 report of the National Council on Education Reform.

The 1990 Lifelong Learning Promotion Law

In 1990, the Japanese government passed the Lifelong Learning Promotion Law and started promoting it as a key policy for educational and administrative reforms. The new law was passed with unusually rapid speed in defiance of fierce opposition from adult educators who were aware of the dangers of the new law. One of the major criticisms of the 1990 law is the lack of an explicit definition of the term 'lifelong learning'; while its statement of intent ambiguously explains that the law aims to create structures for the very desirable purpose of enabling people to engage in lifelong learning. It is clear that from the outset the law was created with the intention that the government would use 'lifelong learning' for more than the narrow concept for which it was used in social education. It is designed so that concrete plans for the implementation of new policies would be continuously developed through 'reports and recommendations' of ad hoc Councils. In 1992, a national Lifelong Learning Council was set up to provide advice on policy development. As studies (e.g. Wilson, 2001) have delineated, the reports of that Council and of the Central Council for Education have been issued 10 times between 1990 and 2000, and have been very influential.

Major innovations in the Lifelong Learning Promotion Law were summed up in the following three points: (1) encouragement for each prefecture (similar to a Canadian province) to establish a Prefectural Lifelong Learning Council to plan its own lifelong learning; (2) encouragement for private business to cooperate in the development of a lifelong learning society through networking with public and non-profit sectors; and (3) the proposition that the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, Japan's most powerful bureaucracy, become involved in facilitating the lifelong learning industry.

Due to this law, by 1994, 40 out of 47 prefectures had established Prefectural Lifelong Learning Councils, while 20 had already built fully-equipped Lifelong Learning Centres to disseminate information through a multimedia national database, conduct consultations, and develop learning programs (Aso & Hori, 1997). By 1998, 22% of municipalities had lifelong learning bureaus or departments, 43 prefectures and 1146 municipalities had formulated lifelong learning promotion plans, and 108 municipalities had declared themselves 'lifelong learning communities' (Wilson, 2001). The rapid growth of these numbers over the last decade indicates the power of the nation-led lifelong learning policies' influence on prefectural and municipal governments. In practice, however, since the distinction between the concept of lifelong learning and the pre-existing concept of social education are not clear, there seems to be a lot of confusion among local officials as well as policy makers. In many municipalities, lifelong learning was equated with social education of the traditional kind. These communities simply changed the name of the 'social education section' to the 'lifelong learning section' (Aso & Hori, 1997; Thomas, Uesugi, & Shimada, 1997; Wilson, 2001). This means that the social education structure has been used as a key tool for realizing new lifelong learning policies without causing any special concerns. Consequently, lifelong learning programs supported by the Lifelong Learning Promotion Law have been gradually taking over and, even worse, destroying 'grass-roots' activities and the principles of traditional social education.

The 1990 law promotes the bureaucratization and privatization of public adult learning by strengthening the leadership of national and prefectural governments as well as by introducing market values into social education practices. For example, due to this law, the Ministry of Education opened up access to Kominkan by allowing the private sector to provide courses at commercial rates. Although the involvement of private companies, generally known as 'culture centres', in liberal adult education is not new in Japan, the courses provided by these private institutions are expensive. This means that, if *Kominkan* introduce a high market price for the courses they provide to the public, the principle of 'equal opportunities for learning' in public adult education will be threatened, particularly for the economically disadvantaged. As well, the type of adult learning – more like a consumer commodity called 'knowledge' provided in school-like settings organized by private companies – tends to focus on the individual, and doesn't necessarily relate to the local community. As a result, the sense of community and adult learning closely related to issues of local concern, which social education had developed to a certain extent between the 1970s and the mid 1980s, has faded.

Recent Revisions of the Social Education Law

The Social Education Law, which was passed in 1949, has gone through several revisions. Among them, however, the revisions of 1959, 1999, and 2001 seem to be major and controversial events in the history of Social Education in Japan (Nagasawa, 2001). The 1959 revision was loudly criticized for paving the way to national government intervention by introducing a government financial support system for local organizations and projects related to adult education. The 1999 revision was small-scale compared to the 2001 revision. Yet it is worth mentioning, because this revision contains the potential to destroy the 'democratic' principle of social education. The 1999 revision was conducted under the 'Decentralization Bill' as a part of on-going large-scale administrative reforms begun in 1995 to make a smaller central government. This revision removed the obligation of each *Kominkan* to set up a *Kominkan* Operation Council (Article 16). The requirement that municipal Boards of Education must hear opinions about the selection of a director for the *Kominkan* from members of the *Kominkan* Operation Council was also removed. These changes, accomplished by deleting just several lines from the law, seem to be minor at first glance. By these changes, however, municipalities, in particular, those who are financially strained, can now legally abolish the routes which allow local residents to be involved in planning and developing social education practice in their own communities.

The 2001 revision was a major revision of the Social Education Law based on recommendations proposed in the 1996 and 1998 National Lifelong Learning Councils' Report. This revision was done by adding new text. Key phrases include 'ensuring establishment of a partnership between the social education system and the school education system' (Article 3) and 'highlighting the development of new family education programs, community volunteering, and experiential learning activities among youth' (Article 5). The revision also broadened the kinds of prerequisite experience needed to qualify as a publicly certified adult educator in order to make a career open to people currently volunteering in the field (Article 9) (Nagasawa, 2001). The Ministry of Education rationalized this new national intervention into social education practice, by stating that the capacity for education in the home and local community has declined so significantly that social education should be brought into play to recover from the slump. As well, since the 5-day a week school system will be implemented nationwide from April 2002, it has been suggested that school children should spend Saturdays in community education programs provided by social education facilities. Analyzing this renewed interest in social education from a different angle, the altered direction of policies can be seen as a response to the unexpected end of the 'bubble economy' in Japan after the implementation of the 1990 Lifelong Learning Law. The initial plan of the National Lifelong Learning Council, which counted on the growing participation of private corporations in the lifelong learning industry, has not met expectations. The private sector has hesitated to expand their business into the education industry during the serious recession. Likewise, the economic change has affected the interests of adult learners as well as their capacity to pay for expensive private programs.

Whatever the causes, the concept of social education and community development has been regaining the attention of the national government after the storm of privatization and de-localization of adult learning over the last decade. Yet this revision has made the boundaries of social education more obscured, by changing the role of adult education into a kind of subordinate educational activity used to mend the fraying public school system. The government's new emphasis on family education and community education for youth through volunteer work would change the nature of social education practice in municipalities. As was clearly demonstrated in the rapid increase of self-proclaimed 'lifelong learning cities' during the 1990s, if local Boards of Education need to get funds from the prefectural and national governments for expanding their lifelong learning programs, they would have to put priority on the points emphasized by the national government, even if they have some issues of greater concern in their communities.

Conclusion: Reconsidering Adult Education under the Lifelong Learning Policies

Adult education in the public domain can move in one of two directions: it can either operate as a mechanism to maintain the cultural and social hegemony of learning; or it can accelerate grass-roots movements which encourage people to ask questions about their daily lives and challenge the status quo in their communities. Japan's two laws about adult learning should be implemented in such a way as to realize the latter. My analysis of the changing boundaries of social education under the lifelong learning policies, however, suggests that social education has been moving or being pushed in the former direction by being cleverly used as an instrument to carry out a broader set of social objectives. And these objectives have been provided as a coherent rational for solving the problems confronting current Japanese society. The lifelong learning system designed by the Japanese government is now trying to expand into more comprehensive network by connecting the school system and social education system, the private sector and the non-profit sector. The broader this network becomes, the more obscure the boundaries of adult education will become.

Under such circumstances, how should we define the role of public adult education? Ogawa (1987) once noted that, social education practice contains an inevitable paradox. Despite its twofold principal for enhancing personal and social transformation, the expected function of public adult education is to help reproduce the dominant cultural and social hegemony as long as governments are involved in its practice through policies and legislation. On the other hand, as Shimada (1985) argued, although policies and laws can play a part in ensuring the citizen's right to learn, it is often the increased capacity for reflective thought resulting from this education which causes the citizen to oppose or criticize these very policies. Citizens' movements against the policies imposed by government have themselves contributed to the progress of social education. It is important, therefore, that adult educators should be fully aware of both the internal paradox of public adult education and the dynamic interaction between government policies and citizens' learning. It is through this awareness that we can start reconsidering the roles of adult education in an era of powerful 'lifelong leaning' policies with appreciation for the crucial relationship between adult education and the state.

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Teaching Choice

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Abstract: Adult educators have a role in helping people learn to use rational discourse, non-rational discourse and storytelling in order to make practical, socio-political and moral choices.

Introduction

Adult educators sometimes resemble zealots. We tend to use the words 'ought' and 'should' about our profession and to adopt visionary kinds of language. Recently I replied by email to an enquiry, saying at one stage:

> Our job is to help ourselves and others become truly conscious. Our job is to teach choice. Our job is to help ourselves and others develop a morality in the face of the evident amorality of our universe. Our job is to teach defiance in the face of absurdity. Ours is the job of helping ourselves and others understand that we too … can take control of our moment.

If I weed out the hyperbole, then I think I was agreeing with Turner who said:

> Human beings can choose. They are not sucked into the future by stimuli to which they have to respond in specific ways. … They can stand back and look at alternatives. Theoretically they can choose about anything (1980, p. 8).

And I was saying that we adult educators should help ourselves and others understand that we do have choices. We should examine the choices available. And we should develop the capabilities and willingness to make choices which matter.

The trouble is that many of us deny ourselves the right or the opportunity to make those choices. We accept the status quo. We think that change is too hard. We see as natural and normal and in need of no explanation states of affairs that are not natural, not normal and in need of lots of explanation. We submit to hegemonic control. We let ourselves be influenced by advertising, publicity and propaganda. We are controlled by ideas embedded in slogans, given wisdoms and the pronouncements of political leaders. We get on with lives constructed for the most part on routines which, if we will only look, have been set for us by someone else.

We accept these kinds of control over our lives often without really thinking about them, let alone speaking about them. To help ourselves make choices, therefore, we need to talk. In the remainder of this paper I will argue that we can teach and learn choice by making use of three different kinds of 'talk': rational discourse, non-rational discourse, and story-telling.

Rational discourse

We can analyse problems and make choices using common sense logic. When I was working for the Australian Trade Union Training Authority, we made use of a model based on three questions: 'What is the problem?', 'What can we do?' and 'What will we do?'. These questions break down into a number of stages: establish the facts and identify the issues flowing from those facts (what is the problem?); priorititise the issues and canvass the options (what can we do?); and decide on action (what will we do?). The model is described in shorthand as: FACTS, ISSUES, OPTIONS, and ACTION.

This problem-solving or choice-making model provides the underlying agenda for most formal and informal meetings. Both kinds of meeting normally begin with a report or a statement (establishing the FACTS). Then there are questions and discussion (identifying and prioritising the ISSUES). Then there is a debate about what to do (canvassing the OPTIONS). This third phase differs according to the type of meeting. In an informal meeting there will be a fairly freewheeling discussion of the various ways forward while in a formal meeting a motion will be moved, seconded and debated in accordance with the rules of formal meeting procedure. Finally there is a decision (deciding on ACTION). At informal meetings the decision will be arrived at by general agreement, and at formal meetings by a vote on the motion. In Western cultures formal and informal meetings are ways in which we engage in rational discourse, and the model is a codification of rational discourse.

The model is useful, but limited. It places an emphasis on identifiable, verifiable facts. But in most situations where we have to make choices there are people involved. And these people will have attitudes and emotions which cannot be so easily identified or verified. We need to add other elements to the model. Fisher and Ury (1983) suggest that people often adopt positions which are not actually in their interests. For example, as a result of a perceived slight to her authority, a manager might insist on sacking a particular worker who is essential to the production process. Fisher and Ury argue that we need to look at all the people involved, clarify what each of their positions is, and try to identify what is actually in each person's interest. Now our problem-solving model has two starting points: FACTS and ISSUES; and POSITION and INTERESTS. Once we have examined these four aspects of the problem we can move to OPTIONS and then ACTION.

But the model still remains limited. Many problems result from a mismatch of status and responsibility. A person with low status but high responsibility will quickly become obstructive. So the person with responsibility for the maintenance, cleaning and security of a multi-million dollar set of buildings can feel aggrieved if given the low status of 'caretaker'. If the 'caretaker' does the job well and the plant functions, nobody notices. To demonstrate how essential he is, the caretaker must do something badly. He must turn off the lights too early, or lock doors which should be unlocked, or on the morning of an important meeting leave the boardroom uncleaned. If we reverse the equation and give someone high status and low responsibility, that person is likely to interfere. If we give an elder statesperson an honorific title, like Principal or President or Chancellor, but nothing to do, after time the elder statesperson may feel she or he should be doing something to justify the title, and proceed to interfere in the-day-to-day affairs of the organisation. Often a problem can be solved if we match people's status with their responsibilities. We give the caretaker a more suitable title and public recognition. We give the elder statesperson some duties to perform and decisions to take. So now our model has three starting phases: FACTS and ISSUES; POSITIONS and INTERESTS; and STATUS and RESPONSIBILITY. Once we have examined all these aspects we can move on to OPTIONS and then ACTION.

I have taught this model by designing a sequence of three scenarios and getting learners to work their way through them. Each scenario contains a problem to solve. In the first scenario the problem can be resolved if the facts and issues are carefully analysed. In the debriefing we begin constructing the model. In the second scenario analysing the facts and issues is not enough. We need to look more closely at the various people involved. In the debriefing we add in the ideas of position and interest. And with third scenario, we add in the ideas of status and responsibility.

For this model to work, people need to be able to discuss in a coherent and respectful manner. I refer to Habermas's (1987) 'ideal speech situation' and suggest that each time each person speaks she or he should try to redeem the validity claims of truth, rightness and truthfulness. That is, each person should only say what she or he believes is true, should only speak what she or he has right or the authority to speak, and should always be sincere. An ideal speech situation exists where there is a consensus on the manner and quality of the communication rather than on the substance of the discussion. This kind of consensus forms the basis of what Habermas describes as 'communicative action', and sometimes this kind of consensus can be enough.

By consciously applying the model we simultaneously engage in and reflect on our processes of commonsense analysis. And by trying to apply the conditions of an ideal speech situation, we engage in a critical self-scrutiny. We develop a consciousness of ourselves as rational beings.

Non-rational discourse

The model described above remains a scientistic one. It can be represented on paper as a flow chart and it treats people as objects whose responses to certain stimuli are standardised. But people can be subjects as well as objects. They can be headstrong and independent. Many problems arise because of differences in outlooks, ideologies, values, assumptions, predilections, and cultures. Problems arise because people have unique states of mind, emotion and physical being. Faced with such differences, we can sometimes lose the will to make collective choices and take collective action. The problems seem impossible to define, the other people intransigent, and reaching agreement impossible. These kinds of problem cannot be solved through rational discourse. Rather they have to be addressed through other forms of 'talk', which may be visceral, non-rational, or even 'irrational'.

Some problems can be resolved, choices made and new directions charted through physical proximity and physical contact. It is no accident that people will travel long distances to attend a meeting. Simply being there, in the physical presence of the others, can sometimes clarify ideas, alter opinions, challenge or eradicate prejudices, and help people come to a decision. And there are moments when priorities are radically altered, matters are suddenly clarified, or problems simply cease to exist as the result of a touch on the elbow, the linking of an arm, a handshake, or an embrace. At these moments words can take second place.

But of course there are times when, in order to resolve differences, we need to foreground the talk. Some of this talk might well be 'rational' but often, rather than the substance of the talk, it is the talk itself which is important. People can appear to communicate and yet be unable to come to an understanding which fully satisfies everyone. The problem may be in the language itself. For example, two people can be using the same word, apparently in the same way and apparently with the same meaning. Yet for each of them the word carries a number of personal and cultural associations that are subtly or even significantly different. As a result, an effective agreement eludes them. Since neither person is conscious of the barrier to their communication, the only way to deal with this kind of difference is to go on talking. Little by little the interpretations each person places on the word will gradually come closer together so that, without either person being able to point to any one particular moment when a breakthrough occurs, they may nonetheless begin to communicate more effectively. Without necessarily being aware of the process, they will have constructed meaning collaboratively.

And there will be times when we can solve problems only when we abandon commonsense logic altogether, open ourselves up to insight, and engage in wilfully 'irrational' kinds of discourse. Again we will talk, but it will be talk filled with images and metaphors, flights of fancy, emotions, ambiguities and ironies. It will be talk which abandons the Habermasian validity claims, which strives for a 'supertruth' of the kind we can find in poetry, literature, dreams and fantasy, and which transcends what we normally take to be reality.

There are a number of ways of using non-rational discourse in order to achieve insight. We can use simulation, games and role-play. We can use the extraordinary mix of analysis, instruction, direct physical experience, debate and decision-making of forum theatre (Boal, 1979). We can name and rename the world (Freire, 1972). We can engage in dialogic discussion (Allman, 1987). We can use anger (Thompson, 2000), and metaphor (Deshler, 1990). We can use brainstorming, song and poetry, creative writing, imaging … all ways of developing a heightened, imaginative, inspirational consciousness.

Storytelling

Some problems are of a moral nature. They go beyond the practical, and are more than problems of interpretation. We find ourselves unable to agree and act collectively because of a moral dilemma, because of the moral complexities of the situation, or because of differences in moral outlooks.

We often operate according to moral codes which we have absorbed, inherited or been taught uncritically. We talk of acting 'according to conscience' without asking: 'What is conscience?' and 'Where did it come from?'. If we are to teach and learn moral choice-making, then we will need to develop not just our rational and imaginative consciousness but also our moral consciousness. We will need to go through what Freire (1972) calls *conscientization*.

Conscientization is often interpreted as the process of learners changing status from objects to subjects. The learners move from a fatalistic or naïve consciousness to a critical consciousness. They come to understand the history of their thinking, and the ways their thinking has been controlled and constrained by their social, political and cultural contexts. And they set about changing their thinking, and acting on their context. Some interpretations stress the political transformation in the process of *conscientization*. But Freire gives the concept an added moral dimension through the echoes of the catholic liturgy in some of his prose and in his allusions to the Christian resurrection (for example 1985, p. 122). Freire is not necessarily promoting a Christian morality, but using these devices from his own culture and upbringing to alert us to the moral dimension of his theory. Truly *conscientized* learners, then, come to understand the moral as well as social, political and cultural forces which have constructed their consciousness. They have foregrounded and examined their consciences. They have identified the principles according to which they judge actions to be good or bad, subjected those principles to critical examination, and set about changing them where they have deemed a change to be necessary.

How, without proselytising, do we teach and learn moral choice-making? If, as Sartre suggests (1947), each time we express our own freedom in the form of some action we impinge on somebody else's freedom, then every action we take has a moral dimension. In the areas of social and political action, usually played out in situations where there are adversaries, this proposition seems particularly true since we are almost invariably trying to force or resist change. We can take action in a number of ways. We can engage in conventional action, like voting or signing petitions. We can engage in confrontational action, like blockading a road or occupying a building. And we can engage in violent action. Each action, and each escalation of action, involves a moral choice. Rules are impossible to lay down but we can offer stories of people who have made moral choices, who have engaged in the different kinds of action, and who have escalated from one level of action to another.

We can tell the story of the three peace activists who moved from legal to illegal action by entering a British submarine base and extensively damaging the computer systems which played a part in coordinating the British system of nuclear defense (Trident Ploughhares, 1999). We can draw on the stories of potential violence or actual violence recounted by Foley (2000) and Horton (1990). We can get the learners to draw on their own experience and tell their own stories. We can go looking for stories from the history of political, social and community action in places like East Timor, South Africa, or Nicaragua. We can take current events, like the attack on the World Trade towers on September 11, 2001 and the responses around the world, and recast those responses as stories.

The educator's role in this kind of teaching and learning is not to provide codes of behaviour. It is to help learners understand morality in terms of challenges, dilemmas and choices. It is to help the learners amass a large number of stories so that when they are confronted with moral choices in the future they will have a body of their own and others' experience to draw upon. It is to help ourselves and others experience, and be able to recall at will, a state of moral consciousness.

Conclusion

We are in times when certain choices are made for us. In Australia, for example, our leaders made a decision in late 2001 to send troops into Afghanistan, with little debate in or outside Parliament. Teaching and learning choice are ways in which we can help ourselves and others be actively involved in our world. They are ways in which we can encourage both protest and vigorous public debate. They are ways in which adult educators can make a contribution to the maintenance and development of an activist civil society.

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The Neoliberal OZ: The Ontario College of Teacher's Guidelines for the Preparation of Principals for the Literacy and Numeracy Maquiladoras of Ontario

Jason M.C. Price

Abstract: This paper interrogates the Ontario College of Principal Qualification Program Guidelines through a critically informed perspective.

Leadership without morality is simply bureaucratic technique.

F.W. English (1994:231)

> If there is rigidity and ineffectiveness in the current school system, it is in part due to the failure of administrators to use their power to address issues that could enhance learning opportunities for all youth…the promotion of excellence is inextricably linked with addressing access, equity, and power issues in education.

G.S. Sefa Dei and L.L. Karumanchery (1999:120)

Introduction

This paper directly interrogates the current practices of the adult education of educational administrators for the diverse public schools of urban Ontario. This paper argues, based on a documentary analysis of the Ontario College of Teacher's Guidelines for Principal Qualification Programs (OCT, 2001), and the results of the multi-voice and multi-centred semi-structured interviews with high profile key informants, and the ideas of anti-racist and critical pedagogy, that preparation programs for educational administration for the post-modern age must not simply be a recipe for implementing the reform flavour of the day, as are the OCT PQP guidelines. This paper will also specifically address the impact of the Progressive Conservative government of Ontario's education reforms related to the implementation/imposition of the common curriculum, standardised tests, and other accountability measures informed by the hegemonic neo-liberal construction of "efficiency," on the Ontario College of Teacher's Guidelines for the Preparation of Teachers (OCT 2001).

Many researchers argue convincingly that students from non-dominant races, cultures and socio-economic classes attending schools in North America are subject to covert and overt forms of prejudice at the individual, institutional, and societal/civilizational levels. A growing body of literature also strongly suggests that this multileveled prejudice works to disadvantage many students of some racial, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds educationally, resulting in often-profound economic, social, and political inequities. (Blumer &Tatum, 1999;Carr & Klassen, 1997; Corson, 1998 and 2000; Danzer & Dei, 1994, Dei 1993, 1995, and 1996; Dei & Karumanchery, 1999; Herrity & Glasman, 1999; Horvat & Antonio, 1999;Young & Laible, 2000*)*. Unfortunately, as many researchers note, diversity issues have been neglected in educational administration preparation programmes (Capper, 1993; Carr, 1997; Donmoyer, Imber & Scheurich, 1995; Furman & Sagor; Lomotey, 1995; Herrity & Glasman, 1999; Shakeshaft, 1990; Solomon 2001;Willet, 1998;Young & Laible, 2000) and diversity issues have also been woefully invisible in educational administration theory (Dimmock & Walker, 1997;Walker & Walker, 1998). The exception is David Corson's outline for the development of a theory "Emancipatory" educational leadership, (Corson, 2000), and post-modern and gender sensitive models of leadership articulated by James Ryan (1998), Beth Young (1994) and Colleen Capper (1993). As Capper succinctly put it the 'diversity gap' in educational administration theory, preparation and practice is especially problematic.

> Lack of inclusion has resulted in the development of a pool of administrators…deficient because they have neither the knowledge to comprehend, nor the skills to respond to the problems of non-white students (Capper, 1993:80).

Changing demographics are one of the most pressing reasons for a change to the existing principal preparation programs (Slaughter, 1997). More and more parents and students of increasingly diverse socio-economic, ethno-cultural, and racial backgrounds are feeling both alienated and intimidated by a fast-paced instrumentalist school system, focused on student results rather than students (Finders &Lewis, 1994). Many researchers suggest recent school reforms, which are primarily a western phenomena (O'Donoghue and Dimmock, 1998;Whitty, et al, 1998), have been directed and informed more by economic imperatives than educative ones. (Aronomwitz & Giroux 1993; Barlow & Robertson, 1994; Corson, 2000; Radnor, et al, 1998, Robertson & Webber, 2000) Further, researchers and stakeholders are recognising that despite intensive instrumentalist government efforts to prepare students for "employment," and rhetoric about success for every child, most students from outside the middle class, are being left behind to fill the rolls of the new poverty employment opportunities offered by low wage service industry jobs (Campaign 2000, 2000). There is increasing awareness that the public systems "commodification" of education approach is essentially reproducing a social and economic order that continues to favour white middle class Canadians (Edelman, 1989; Minicucci, Berman, and McLaughlin, et.al, 1995;Finders &Lewis, 1994; Kerbo, 1996; Porter, 1968).

The Context of Ontario

The student populations of schools in urban southern Ontario are incredibly ethno-culturally, racially, and socio-economically diverse. Future projections suggest they will become even more so(Campaign 2000). Toronto, for example, is considered one of the worlds' most demographically diverse cities. Southern Ontario can claim to be home to people from 150 different countries, of a plethora of different ethno-cultural backgrounds, residents of Canada for different lengths of time, and speaking more than 80 different languages (Carr and Klassen, 1997). In Canada poor families also tend to live in larger communities, with an estimated 25% of city families with children considered poor (Campaign 2000). The problem of poverty is compounded for ethno-racial families, with the poverty rate in deadly ascension for some ethno-racial groups reaching 60-90% in the GTA (Toronto Campaign 2000).Given that much of the demographic diversity of Ontario is concentrated in urban southern Ontario, does the existing, and future anticipated increases in the diversity of student populations pose special challenges for teachers, principals and educational policy makers and planners in Ontario? Does the existing diversity and continued diversity of schools in Ontario call for the development of specialised training for urban school leaders?

Ontario's One-Size-Fits-All Principal Preparation

At present, Ontario's preparation programs for aspiring principals are of the "one-size-fits-all" variety. Moreover, Ontario is the only province in Canada that does not incorporate the certification of principals within the broader requirements of a master of education degree administered by a faculty of education of an accredited university. Aspiring principals in Ontario must successfully complete Principal Qualification Programs (PQP) based on guidelines established by the Ontario College of Teachers (OTC), which do not distinguish in their curricula between preparing educational leaders for elementary or secondary levels, urban or rural schools; never mind including specialised training for leaders of school communities with ethno-culturally, racially and socio-economically diverse populationa. A growing body of research calls into question the rationale for non-differentiated educational leadership preparation. (Hewitson, 1995;Herrity & Glasman, 1999; Begley, 2000) More specifically a growing number of researchers, practitioners, and educational leadership theorists and instructors argue for a special curriculum for preparing educators for leadership in schools with ethnoculturally, racially, and socio-economically diverse student populations (Price, 2001;Blumer & Tatum, 1999;Carr &Klassen, 1997; Corson, 2000, Donmoyer, Imber & Schuerich, 1995; Herrity & Glasman, 1999; Ipka, 1995; Lomotey, 1995; Young & Laible, 2000). While it is important to note that the OTC guidelines for PQPs in Ontario, are just that, guidelines, which afford individual programs meaningful choice in reference to program delivery, evaluation, and emphasis. They do however, in effect, establish the "standards of practice," foci, expectations, content, practicum requirements and assessment strategies of PQPs in Ontario, which are subject to review, evaluation, and accreditation by the OTC.

The OCT's PQP is composed of two parts. All aspiring principals and vice-principals in the Province of Ontario must complete the 125 hours of "introductory" coursework and practicum in Part I and 125 hours of coursework in Part II before they can normally accept an administrative position in a public school in Ontario. Part I is described by the OCT as:

> … an introduction to those interested in learning about the fundamental operational aspects of leading and managing a school. It is designed to help the candidate develop the knowledge and skills necessary to carrying out the duties of a beginning school administrator. (OCT PQP Guidelines 2001:2)

According to the OCT, Part II of the PQP is designed:

> … to enable the candidate to explore, in more depth, the theoretical and operational aspects of the principalship. Concepts and issues such as leadership and program planning are the focus of Part II. (OCT PQP Guidelines 2001: 5)

In the opinion of the seven key informants familiar with the guidelines and interviewed for this study, the College's PQP guidelines do not support this assertion of theoretical concentration in any way. The guidelines were described as "managerial in orientation," and this begs the question of the OCT's assumptions and perceptions of practice. Was "practice" in this case informed and influenced as all of the aforementioned participants suggested, by a neoliberal reform package stressing testing and financial accountability over inclusion and diversity? A reform package that divided principals from teachers, by way of removing them from the teacher's federation (Bill 160), but still regulating them through the OCT. They also unanimously interpreted the guidelines as an attempt to develop government reform implementation agents rather than morally purposeful and context driven educational leaders. One distinguished informant, even put the OTC PQP guidelines within the context of the greater neoliberal reform project.

> The current OCT PQP guidelines are quite disappointing, broadly speaking they are an attempt to enshrine a very managerial view and approach to the position or role. In the way of the principal being an agent of government policy making, or system. This is kind of common in schools and systems experimenting with neo-liberal reforms. A good example is the UK government where the managerial role of the principal, which has always been prominent, is being stressed even more in order to accomplish the current central reform initiatives.

In fact all the informants summed up the guidelines, as reflecting the neoliberal reform agenda of the present government.

The OTC: An Arms-Length Organisation?

Most of the participants were also concerned with what they suggested is a too-close-for-comfort relationship existing between the Ministry of Education and Ontario College of Teachers, rather than the arms-length one that is claimed. Their positions challenge the OCT boast that it is a "self-regulatory body" like those enjoyed by medical and legal professions. They are also very concerned with what they perceive as an "attack" on the integrity of the position of principal and teacher, aided and abetted by the OCT, in service of the standardisation and accountability agenda of the present Progressive Conservative government. According to the informants the result of this too-close-for-comfort-relationship, rather than the "arms-length" relationship the OCT claims has been the creation of guidelines, which stress the development of a "managerial approach" to the position, over a "leadership orientation." The first salvo in the attack was Bill 160, and the PQP guidelines were characterised as a mopping up operation after the battle has already been won. One informant articulately explained the problematic of the OTC and the governments too-close-of-comfort relationship.

> I don't see a strong desire in the College of Teachers to remain "arms length," from the province. It seems that under their present leadership they are satisfied with going along, and following, endorsing the present government's positions. There is not a strong desire to make the position of principal more or present an independent voice. There is not a strong enough voice to counter that of the government. Whatever political issues defined as important by the government in power tend to be reflected in the PQP....

The participants also characterised the OCT's PQP guidelines as counterintuitive to the goals of democracy, equity and social justice that they believe should be animating our school system.When asked to describe the OCT's PQP, it was criticised for being "managerial" and "dumbed down." One informant knowledgeable about the formulation of guidelines explained how they were developed.

> They were being put together during the walk out, a time of regression in terms of leadership. People were hunkering down to maintain the status quo, by being managerial, and survival oriented. Got principals together to develop the OCT guidelines in focus groups and they tended to echo their immediate concerns. The outcome was managerial

in outlook. Not at all including ethics. Another aspect that affected the [OCT PQP] guidelines is the measurement agenda, which has recently gained prominence. Difficult to measure many types of learning but it is fairly easy to measure management skills. Current guidelines are dumbed down; we will have to make adjustment in the course to do more.

Although, the two parts of the PQP are distinguished by "discrete topics for each," the Guidelines claim they have three overlapping areas or foci: "human resources, decision-making, and communication strategies" (OCT PQP Guidelines 2001:4). The OCT PQP Guidelines state that the PQP is designed to prepare candidates for both elementary and the secondary school principalship, as well as for English and French and public and Catholic schools. The OCT makes no other differentiation of schools, for example large and small, urban and rural in their official documents.

The College states in its guideline's section entitled "Overview of the Principals' Qualification Program" that its focus is on "knowledge, abilities, skills and practice so that candidates can learn how to:

- Uphold the *Standards of Practice in the Teaching Profession* and the *Ethical Standards of Practice in the Teaching Profession*
- Build and maintain learning communities that support diversity and promote excellence, accountability, anti-racism, equity, partnerships and innovation.

These are the first two of eight statements made in the "Overview." The second statement is notable for twinning diversity and excellence, but also for the positioning of accountability before anti-racism, equity and partnerships, as if these processes/goals are not forms of accountability or "efficiency"(Chomsky, 2001);they are just socially just ones. Moreover, in contrast to all the participants who each in their own way stressed the importance, if not precedence of "attitudes" in the practice and indirectly preparation of educational leaders, the College "focuses on" "abilities, skills, and practice." It is not clear in the guidelines how abilities differ from skills. It is clear however, from the guidelines content, activities, practicum orientation, assignments, and lack of critical perspective or opportunities for critical dialogue that practice is constructed as essentially "management" related.

In summary, I have argued that in effect the narrow management knowledge base preparation program represented by the OCT PQP Guidelines is a clumsy attempt to engineer a "dumbed down" "banking model" (Freire, 1970) preparation program to produce straw and tin men and women administrators, paralegals and sales managers (without courage) for the numeracy and literacy *maquiladoras* of Ontario's neoliberal OZ.

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CREATING ACCESS:
A DEGREE COMPLETION PROGRAM FOR WORKING ADULTS

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Abstract: It has become increasingly difficult for mid-career adults who work full-time to gain access to part-time degree completion studies at Canadian universities. This situation is not the result of any deliberate intention to bar part-time students from admission to university, but instead from funding shortfalls and rising demand, which have placed an enormous strain on universities to provide places for all who qualify. One cohort-based program with flexible admissions policies has been successful in providing access to adults who wish to complete an undergraduate degree on a part-time basis. However, without some form of financial support, some individuals who qualify for such programs may find themselves barred from participation.

Introduction

Canada experienced unprecedented growth in post-secondary institutions and enrolments during the 1960's. Governments subsidized universities with large education budgets and universities cooperated by offering low tuition rates. This unlimited expansion became increasingly restricted in the 1970's, however, when capital grants were severely reduced, and established systems of funding were significantly altered (Anisef, et al, 1985). The contraction of financial resources had a series of institutional effects upon universities. Faced with a growing demand as well as a growing deficit, universities raised admission standards, implemented enrollment quotas, and concentrated their resources on the large number of students entering directly from high school. Universities with a history of being flexible, accessible and responsive to mature and part-time students became institutions increasingly pre-occupied with obtaining sufficient financial resources to maintain existing levels of activities. Statistics collected by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC, 1999) confirm that the cycle of decline in part-time enrolments which began in 1992 has shown little signs of relenting.

The barriers that adults face when attempting to access post-secondary education have been widely discussed (Cross, 1981, Schlossberg; et al, 1989, Bourgeois et al, 1999) and are commonly classified as dispositional (related to attitude and self-perception of adult learner), situational (lack of time for study due to work, family or other responsibilities, lack of financial support, etc.) and institutional (lack of suitable courses, inconvenient schedules or locations, etc.). One study (Selman, 1993) found part-time students at Simon Fraser University (SFU) were impacted by budgetary restraints in two key areas: admissions and course registration priority. Changes in SFU's admission policies and practices resulted in a greater proportion of students entering directly from high school and community colleges (the latter was eventually choked off through increasingly elevated admission requirements). Those who gained admission as 'mature' students (a category reserved for students 23 years of age or older with little or not transfer credit and includes many part-time students) often found programs and/or courses offered at inconvenient times and/or locations. In addition, few options existed when courses were offered less frequently or were filled by students with a higher registration priority. Many part-time students simply gave up any hope of ever completing an undergraduate degree within a reasonable time frame.

How can a system that is so strictly bound by the vagaries of government funding maintain its autonomy, respond to the pressures of various professional and academic groups, and at the same time, assume a stronger role in mediating individual demands? Must funding and accessibility be constantly traded off against one another? A remedy may be found outside the system, in cohort-based degree completion programs designed specifically for mid-career adults.

Integrated Studies Defined

As the strings on the public purse tightened, universities turned to the private sector for financial support. Although appealing to the corporate world for such support was not entirely new, universities were aided by corporations who had arrived at a new appreciation for certain resources provided by the universities. It was this realization that, in 1995, laid the groundwork for SFU's Integrated Studies (IS) Program. With the assistance of two major employers located in the Vancouver area, a cohort-based employer-sponsored pilot program was launched. Potential students would be recommended by their employer, have at least 10 years experience in the workplace in a decision-making role, and have participated in some post-secondary education. Upon successful completion of three years of part-time study, the students would receive a Bachelor of General Studies degree.

Two programs – the Liberal and Business Studies (LBS) program and the Justice and Public Safety Leadership (JPSL) program – have been developed out of the original partnership. Both programs are highly structured and target the mid-career adult who wishes to complete an undergraduate degree while continuing to work. The program is notable for building on participants' workplace experience with an academically rigorous combination of primarily third and fourth year courses. Students are required to complete 18 courses over nine semesters of part-time study. To eliminate the fatigue associated with evening courses IS classes take place during the day. LBS students meet on alternate Fridays and Saturdays, six times a semester; JPSL students meet every three weeks on a Thursday, Friday and Saturday, four times a semester.

While the program was originally hailed by its proponents as a 'leading edge' in the new era of collaboration between universities and the business community, the program has, at the time of this writing, almost completely rescinded its roots. It has evolved into a program that no longer involves an employer selection process. Prospective students apply to the program as they would any other university program, and are considered on the basis of their academic merit, work experience, and their perceived readiness for third year university study, regardless of actual transfer credits. The program's flexible admission policy grants implicit credit for work accomplished other than through standard classroom procedures. Informal, non-formal and non-transferable courses, together with life and work experiences, are recognized as forms of prior learning.

The IS program is a positive response to the critical failure of universities to provide for the part-time credit student. Supporters argue that the IS program provides opportunities for adults who would otherwise be denied access to higher education. Critics view it as a commodification process whereby academic standards are comprised in order to meet the needs of business and industry. Regardless of how it is viewed, questions are raised. Has the IS program created a satisfactory 'culture of accessibility' to university? What other factors have attracted students to the IS program? Cross (1981) has argued that adults pursuing university degrees are among the socio-economically privileged. Are programs such as IS reinforcing differences in socioeconomic backgrounds by providing programs for a relatively small niche of socio-economically privileged adult learners?

The Study

This paper addresses these questions using data gathered from interviewed applicants to LBS cohorts over a three-year period. Approximately 125 individuals (62% women, 38% men), ranging in age from early 30's to early 50's, with the majority being 38-40 years of age, were questioned about their views on the value of a university degree and the barriers faced in gaining access to university to obtain a degree. Each person interviewed met the minimum program requirements of work experience and post-secondary education. All interviews took place at the Harbour Centre campus of SFU. Responses to open-ended interview questions were transcribed and analyzed. This information was used to identify common themes that included objectives, motivation, school experience, and attitudes towards higher education.

Overcoming Institutional Barriers

During the course of the interviews, some applicants stated that without the access provided them by the IS program, they had little hope of gaining admission to SFU or of completing an undergraduate degree within a reasonable time period. A review of the applicants' basis of admission confirms that the high admission standards demanded by the university from community college transfer students, together with the low enrolment quotas placed on the numbers of mature students admitted, would have affected approximately 80% of the IS applicants in a negative way. Several applicants said they were surprised to discover the existence of the IS program, and that they appreciated the opportunity it afforded them (at the time of this writing, no other university in Canada has a similar program). Applicants were also impressed with the administrative support offered by the university through a dedicated-specific program office. This office supplies information, solves problems, and takes care of bureaucratic details that are often difficult and time-consuming to students who do not attend classes on a weekly basis. Maehl (2000) notes that a friendly, informed, and concerned staff make a vital contribution to program morale. Evaluative feedback collected over the duration of the program confirms that students often remember the IS program as much in terms of helpful staff members as in terms of faculty (Wrana, et al, 2001).

Overcoming Situational Barriers

Because the program operates on a cost-recovery basis, fees are set at levels that are sometimes problematic for students. Since program parameters prevent students from meeting the minimum qualifications for financial aid, some students have taken on a certain amount of financial debt during the program. It is for this reason that program applicants are encouraged to seek some form of financial commitment from their employer prior to being admitted to the program. While it is not a requirement of the program for applicants to be financially supported by their employer, such support can often prevent the financial burden of the program from becoming overwhelming. Of the 125 applicants interviewed, 68% said they had obtained at least partial financial support from their employers. Rubenson (1998) has argued that the likelihood of students receiving financial support from their employer is directly related to the size of the employees' organization, and that small or medium size companies are less likely to support educating their workforce. This is clearly evident in the case of the IS program, where approximately 90% of the applicants are employed by large provincial or national organizations.

However, in addition to financially supporting their employees, a wide range of employers also support their employees by providing paid time away from the workplace to attend classes. All the applicants said their families were supportive of their participation in the program, and that they had arranged for a quiet place in which to study.

Overcoming Dispositional Barriers

Adult students often participate in part-time studies because they see a distinct benefit from the investment. The majority of applicants (58%) interviewed over the period of the study said they needed a degree in order to progress in their careers. Many stated they wanted to build on their technical training by improving their writing and critical thinking skills. Others simply said they could not progress professionally without a degree. Of the group that cited personal reasons for applying (24%), most indicated that completing a university degree was something they had always wanted to do, but the opportunity to do so had not previously arisen. The remaining applicants (18%) cited a combination of personal and professional factors had led them to consider the IS program. Applicants generally agreed that the IS program had 'humanized' the university by creating an environment that was a more inviting, less threatening place. The prospect of gaining a degree in an open and accessible environment encouraged applicants to value their strengths and put any negative school experiences behind them.

Conclusion

A summary of the major barriers, and how the IS program has addressed them, follows.
Institutional barriers: Course schedules and registration priority system disadvantage adult part-time students; universities refuse to recognize and credentialize life and other educational experiences; students have little or no support from the institution.
IS Program Response: An active marketing plan that includes information sessions aimed at working adults who wish to complete an undergraduate degree within a reasonable time frame; access that is not based strictly on past academic performance; credentializing of a variety of post-secondary schooling, including work experience; a class schedule that is conducive to adults who hold a full-time jobs; a supportive, cohort-based program that encourages a community of learning; instructors who are chosen for their experience with teaching adults as well as their academic expertise; a high level of support throughout program from program administrators and instructors, some of whom have attended university as part-time, adult students.

Dispositional Barriers: Fear of failure, especially if past difficulties at post-secondary institutions have prevented a return to university; concern that they may be too old to learn, or that the courses they must take may be meaningless.
IS Response: First semester in the program acts as a 'bridge' between workplace issues and academic studies; confidence builds as past academic difficulties are left behind; work and life experiences valued as strengths; study routines established early in the program; new learning often builds upon workplace issues and leads to outcomes that have directly observable benefits for learners; many curricular aspects are meaningful and applicable to life and the workplace.
Situational Barriers: Books and program fees are too costly, learning may take too much time away from family and work responsibilities, little support at home or from the workplace for returning to university, no quiet place to study.
IS Response: Participants encouraged to secure funding assistance from their employers, used

text books available for purchase; program reference library from which students can borrow books; support and an understanding of program commitments at home and at the workplace must be in place prior to student embarking on program.

Concluding Comments

Although the demand for education from adults is growing, Canadian universities have done little to respond to their needs and circumstances. The idea that continuing one's education on a part-time basis in order to obtain an undergraduate degree is an opportunity that can be – and should be – open to more adults. The IS program has proven that when strong personal or career aspirations are connected to a well-focused program set within a well-supported and culturally compatible university environment, the off-putting aspects experienced by many adults can be successfully challenged and overcome. Far from giving away credits or compromising academic standards, this approach has attracted some of SFU's best and most serious students.

The preliminary results of this case study indicate that IS students gain specific benefits from the program that are not readily available to other undergraduate part-time students. IS students have a unique opportunity to interact with other mature adults from similar backgrounds, and they experience the value of continuing education and of lifelong learning. While the numbers remain quite small, graduates of the IS program are currently completing Master's degrees in a number of diverse areas, including Business Administration, Technology, Leadership, and Criminology. However, the positive outcomes of the IS program may be comprised in future years by rising costs and increasingly restrictive classroom space which could limit the program's accessibility.

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Responding to '911': Coolie Verner's call to action in the 1950s

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Abstract: There are strong voices in our adult education traditions to help us face the post-911 world courageously in face of extremist tendencies to restrict our democratic rights and responsibilities under the guise of a war on terror. Coolie Verner's scholarly publications during the 1950s illustrate how one of us worked thorough our commitment to social justice in a time of fear and extremism.

We need to recover our strong voices in the adult education movement to meet the momentous changes and dangers facing us since September 11, 2001 – '911'. We need to locate those critical adult educators from the past willing to face controversy and unpopular positions as part of adult education's commitment to individual improvement and collective action while creating a better social order. We need to recover these role models if we are to influence public policy and avoid being mere observers as the commodification of culture (Rifkin, 2000) continues uncontested. We must create an image of adult education to counter the dominant image of the war metaphor that pervades our language, a new image of hope based on critical dialogue, social responsibility and direct action. To this end, during times seemingly intolerant of critics of oppressive state power similar to current conditions, I look for this kind of commitment in the contribution of Coolie Verner to our literature during the 1950s

I want to make three points in this paper. First, the modern adult education movement grew out of a commitment to peace, justice and democracy, and this was explicit in Coolie Verner's scholarly work in the 1950s. Second, that commitment faded during the decade when cold war terror and fear of the bomb forced issues of social justice into the shadow of socio-political reaction and patriotic fervour especially in the US. This climate also encouraged adult education scholarship to obey the positivist claim to 'scientific rigour' and 'objectivity'. Third, these events and trends seem unknown in a field uncaring of its historical traditions, a point Verner made time and again. Yet these traditions are our roots as a field of practice and as a movement, and can provide the comfort and security we need to face the brave new world emerging from 911.

Some of us might remember Verner as a major force in the early years of the Commission of Professors of the Adult Education Association – he was the first Chair -- and the author of the first booklet published by the Commission in the series intended to articulate adult education as a field of study (Verner, 1962). Some of us might remember him as a prolific writer of 275 publications mainly in adult education, rural sociology and historical cartography (Dickinson, 1979). He was one of the early professors of adult education with a strong historical consciousness and he made a significant contribution to the history of adult education, for example in reproducing *Poles History of Adult Schools* first published in 1816 (Verner, 1967). Verner established the first Canadian doctoral program in adult education at the University of British Columbia in 1961.

I start with Coolie Verner's thoughts in print published during the 1950s as he moved from graduate studies in adult education to a leadership role in the emerging academic discipline of adult education. He directed much of his attention to the study of the relationship between adult education and community development CD). He had attended Columbia University in 1950 to study rural sociology and adult education after gaining practical experience in the field of CD with the Ogdens in Virginia before and after military service during World War II. His earliest writing contained reference to CD as a process of co-operative management of local change based on programs of democratic self-help (Verner, 1949). Verner pursued this interest in his doctoral studies at Columbia and later while a member of the faculty at Florida State University and the University of British Columbia. As a Fulbright Fellow living in Britain in 1953, he declared the new "co-operative movement (i.e. community development)" was "education in the highest form" (Verner, 1953). He borrowed examples from the University of London's leadership training program for colonial officers and concluded "community development has been recognized as offering the most powerful medium thus far developed for educating adults to the responsibilities of democracy".

By the end of the decade however, Verner shifted from a 'youthful' passion for community based democratic processes to a discipline focus where he defined CD as a method of education. Why? What was going on in the 1950s that might help us understand this shift? Was this shift typical of adult educators in the fifties? His early writing contained reference to CD as a process of co-operative management of local change based on program of democratic self-help. He saw a prominent place for adult education in important issues such as the US Supreme Court's declaration in 1954 that segregation was unconstitutional. He and Ralph Spence responded to the challenge by calling for broader and more vital forms of adult education for community based social action (Spence and Verner, 1954). In 1953, Verner had reflected optimistically on adult education's possibilities for "tomorrow's world" and wrote:

> It must create the divine discontent that will prompt people to want to share in effecting changes in their social environment. Furthermore, it must equip them with the skill to determine the kind of world they want and with the ability to set about achieving it for themselves (Verner, 1953, p. 41).

His advice to universities was clear and direct, and included the first statement in the adult education literature about the potential value of action research -- an approach to knowledge making committed to immediate application of what we are learning.

> Existing university personnel cannot provide this kind of training unless they too become a part of it through action-research with adult groups. Has traditionalism so pinioned our university departments that they are incapable of creating an adequate university curriculum for adult educators?

We might ask the same questions fifty years later.

Translating knowledge into action has always been a fundamental part of adult education. Writing in 1926 about the meaning of adult education, Eduard Lindeman cautioned "Once we lose the sense of active participation in affairs, we sink to the level of inaction, or what is worse, silent opposition" Lindeman, 1926, p. 37). For him, "adult education specifically aims to train individuals for a more fruitful participation in those smaller collective units which do so much to mould significant experience". Moreover:

> Experience is, first of all, doing something; second, doing something that makes a difference; third, knowing what difference it makes. Our personalities count for something; we enjoy experiences in proportion to the effectiveness of our actions (p. 87).

This sort of action is not chaotic or thoughtless; rather it is critical and disciplined -- as is adult education in its most active form. Lindeman wrote these words in the relatively tranquil 1920s in the United States. His fellow adult educators in the angry 1930s interpreted this action component to mean direct social action causing fundamental changes in the social system itself.

Many of our colleagues during the Depression were active in building what later became known as the 'welfare state' – an unsuccessful attempt to eliminate poverty and oppression from our country.

The 1950s produced a lively debate about the functions of adult education as we again tried to move from the margins of the educational system into the main stream. John Walker Powell and Kenneth Benne (1960) summed up the decade by distinguishing the developmental and the rationalist as the two main schools in adult education. The developmental school had two divisions; fundamental education dominated by CD and human relations' education focusing on group dynamics. They suggested the rationalist camp operated under many banners including liberal arts, reading-discussion, great books and the humanities. They concluded that American theories of adult education were polarized "not to say ionized' around the two camps (Powell and Benne, 1960, p. 50). Whether or not education should emphasize purely intellectual or purely emotional analysis, conceived as opposite ends of a continuum, was the main issue. In the middle ground was "a span of effectual personal and civic action which forms one of the goals at both extremes". Powell and Benne maintained adult education had to span the extremes and serve individual and social needs through a combination of education and social action. Notions of direct social action were controversial in adult education during these years of McCarthy witch-hunts and cold war fears, but the debate was open and lively in the American literature. At the same time, the main Canadian adult education journal – *Food for Thought* – was not in tune with the troubled times as was its American counterpart (Pyrch, 1983, p. 226).

Verner himself changed his position by the end of the 1950s when he reacted to what he considered to be the excessive claims of some CD enthusiasts (Pyrch, 1983). His hope that "divine discontent" would encourage people to participate in social change activities faded during the decade. By 1960, he suggested that learners required education "essential to adjustment to change" while preserving the social order (Verner, 1960, p.166). The notion of adjustment to change suggested a remedial role for adult education rather than the directive role he had implied in 1953. He seemed wary of the CD fashion. "For some devotees," he observed in 1959, "it is a panacea to be embraced with ardor and espoused with religious fervor" (Verner, 1959, 254). Verner suggested the panacea had arisen "as a result of the tendency to ascribe values to an adult education method which are, in reality, associated with the behaviour which may occur in a community as a result of the learning achieved through the method" (Verner, 1959a, p. 50). Was this social science removing itself from the subjective side of direct action by trying to gain 'scientific' legitimacy by claiming an objective once removed position?

In our post 911 world, will we have the courage of the 'youthful' Verner to address directly the challenges of the war on terror we face and the accompanying erosion of our human and legal rights? He did this during times when criticism of the social order could easily be interpreted as disloyalty or even treason. Yet he backed off from advocacy of education for social action and directed his energies to the discipline. As a post-911 adult educator, I need to find his courage to address the looming dangers directly and imaginatively. I see these dangers in such images captured in the full-page advertisement in the *New York* Times on 10 March 2002 placed by 'Americans for Victory Over Terrorism'. Americans are called upon to 'support democratic patriotism when it is questioned'. I do this because it is part of our traditional responsibilities. I need to facilitate adult education as a countervailing force to the emerging threats to our democracy. I think Verner would expect it of me, his last doctoral student. Yet will I too back off from advocacy and retreat into the safe confines of discipline building? Or is there a certain courage required to work on the discipline as well? Will I acquire the skills required to work smart in my organization (Foley, 2001) to counter the commodification of knowledge? Is each generation of adult educator expected to place us strategically to help social movements move? This last question challenged Verner himself as he thought we were asking the same questions from generation to generation in a repetitive rather than developmental way.

Verner had a lifelong interest in history and historical cartography, and he lamented the apparent disinterest in adult education history both within the movement and within the discipline. He urged us to explore our history since without clearly articulated historical traditions a discipline could not claim legitimacy. Historical inquiry was essential to prove the hypotheses in his theory of method (Verner, 1975). One consequence of this disinterest was a

> persistent recurrence of the same problems generation after generation. In effect, each generation of adult educators begins anew so that the field becomes repetitive and circular rather than lineal and developmental (Verner, 1964, p. 256).

Perhaps each generation has to be circular in the sense that we need return time and again to societal issues that do not go away – issues of peace, justice and democracy. Perhaps a spiral image captures our work rather better than a circle. What goes around comes around but does it come back exactly the same as it was when it left? Verner shifted away from advocating community-based democracy to defining CD as a method of adult education. Instead of devoting our current energies to fine tuning the discipline, do we more urgently need to return to our earlier commitment to issues of peace, justice and democracy? Can we create alternative images to fighting terror with terror? Can we recover Verner's courage to take on politically sensitive issues like desegregation at a time when the cold war was creating a new tyranny at home? We require this kind of courage to retain our integrity in the post-911 world. Will we be forced by events and pressures to retreat into critical discourse and continue to build the discipline? Would this in fact be a retreat? Does this integrity include critical advocacy that in itself is committed to direct action in the face of any tyranny to throttle democracy? We need to attend to these and other questions related to our influence on public policy at this conference. This is the time for lively debate prior to taking direct action to facilitate a democratic life.

I have written this paper to remind us of our traditional commitment to peace, justice and democracy at a time when this commitment could get us into trouble with trends antithetical to these values in the post-911 world. I introduced Coolie Verner's scholarly work during the 1950s to illustrate how socio-political conditions influence our historical positions and help mould our field and movement. In so doing, I am honouring his commitment to history and historiography as important and practical attributes of our fields of practice and study. Lastly, in 'recovering' Verner, I want us to remember an important contributor to the Canadian and American adult education movement. Roger Boshier (1995) gave us a snapshot of Verner from a psychologist's perspective and this provides us with one interpretation of Verner as an individual man. My snapshot is Verner the historical man whose professional life reflected his time and place. Will we face the post-911 world with the courage he faced his world fifty years ago? How can we do less?

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From the Personal to the Political in Health Literacy: A Two Year Study in Two Rural Nova Scotia Counties

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Abstract: Research has pointed to a high correlation between low literacy and poor health outcomes. By working in collaboration with community-based health and literacy organizations, this two-year, interdisciplinary study is exploring how health and literacy are related, and is providing a basis for improving policies and programs to enhance health among adults with limited literacy in rural Nova Scotia.

The high correlation between low-literacy and poor health is well established in the health literature. It has been found that literacy acts on health through multiple direct and indirect means (Perrin, 1998). The most extensive Canadian study exploring the links between health and literacy (Perrin, 1990) concluded that literacy is one of the major influences on health, and literacy is a major factor underlying most other health determinants. The *Second Report on the Health of Canadians* (1999) further substantiated this by revealing that those with low literacy levels not only experience high unemployment rates and low incomes—facts well known in the adult education field (e.g., Taylor, 2001)—but they also suffer poorer health and die earlier than those with a higher education. Further, growing evidence points to a gradient in health status; better health outcomes are associated with increased income, education, and socio-economic status (Evans, Barer & Marmor, 1994; National Forum of Health, 1997). Moreover, adults with low levels of literacy skills typically have higher rates of smoking, are less physically active, and have less access to both healthy physical environments and healthy foods (*Second Report on the Health of Canadians*, 1999). Their personal health practices tend to increase their risk of poor health and the likelihood that they will need to become frequent users of public health services.

It is not surprising that instrumental relationships between literacy and health have been investigated in health care settings. For instance, according to Parker, Williams, Weiss, and Baker, (1999): "In the largest study of functional health literacy in the United States" (p. 3), one third of English-speaking patients at two public hospitals "could not read and understand basic health-related materials" (p. 3). They found that "42% of patients . . . were unable to comprehend directions for taking medication on an empty stomach, 26% could not understand information on an appointment slip, and 60% could not understand a standard consent form"(p.3). They and concluded "groups with the highest prevalence of chronic disease and the greatest need for health care had the least ability to read and comprehend information needed to function as a patient" (p. 3). While some steps are being taken to investigate health literacy, problems still go undetected in many practice settings and remain a "silent issue" in too many health-related interactions.

Naming the Challenges of a "Silent Issue"

Although links between health outcomes and socioeconomic factors, such as income and education, have been well-established, the impact of literacy skills have, until recently, been neglected. According to Rudd (2002), the main focus of research into literacy and health has been on the reading levels of health education materials. Tools have been developed to determine differences among people with high and low literacy scores, and health behaviours. (Davis el al, 1996; Parker et al, 1995). The focus on functional literacy in the early 1990's, prompted to a large extent in the United States by the National Adult Literacy Study (NALS), alerted health researchers to the challenges people with limited literacy have functioning within the health care setting. In Canada, partnerships have been established to increase awareness of the links between health and literacy among professionals and to promote the use of plain language and clear communication of health information (Canadian Public Health Association, 2001). Ratzan (2001) argues that strategic communication efforts are key to attaining health literacy, and that policy makers and leaders outside the traditional health sector must be involved in addressing the social, economic and environmental determinants of health.

While health researchers have worked to describe and understand the implications of low health literacy skills, and done so primarily in health care settings, international organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) have worked to define health literacy. In 1998, health literacy was defined by the WHO as "the cognitive and social skills which determine the motivations and ability of individuals to gain access to, understand and use information in ways which promote and maintain good health" (as cited in Nutbeam, 2000). WHO also argued at that time that "health literacy means more than being able to read pamphlets and successfully make appointments. By improving people's capacity to use it effectively, health literacy is critical to empowerment" (as cited in Nutbeam, 2000). Nevertheless, we have a long way to go before critical literacy can be said to be part of an "empowerment solution" in health literacy. As Nutbeam concluded: "Disappointingly, the potential of education as a tool for social change, and for political action has been somewhat lost in contemporary health promotion" (p. 265).

The situation has to be considered even worse in the field of adult literacy. The correlation between low literacy skills and poor health has not been studied in any significant way; therefore, the insidious effects of low health literacy skills are a truly "silent" issue within the practice of literacy. One of the few literacy-based studies exemplifying this point took place in the U.S., where, among students "enrolled in adult basic education classes, [it was found that] subjects with the lowest reading skills had poorer physical and psychological health than those with better reading skills" (Parker, Williams, Weiss, & Baker, 1999, p. 5). This finding persisted "even after statistical adjustments had been made for confounding sociodemographic factors" (Parker, Williams, Weiss, & Baker, p. 5). As the WHO argued, "health literacy means more than being able to read pamphlets and successfully make appointments" (cited in Nutbeam, 2000).

However, as the WHO discourse implies, simply improving reading skills and enhancing "access" to information and/or services is unlikely to make a significant impact on this silent issue. Like so many socio-economic, gender, racial, and cultural issues impacting adults, research that ultimately seeks to effect personal, community or societal change needs to probe beneath the obvious. Questions of community context, cultural history, social hegemony, and personal motivation all arise in the area of health literacy. According to the *Second Report on the Health of Canadians* (1999), adults with limited literacy skills often feel alienated from both society and traditional health systems. We need to ask what encourages or deters adults with limited literacy skills from accessing information and from participating in traditional health systems? What is the very perception of "health" among those with low literacy levels? Do adults with low levels of literacy skills access other forms of health assistance in their cultures, communities, or families?

Despite the considerable interest in participatory research in adult education that arose in the 1980s and 1990's, and the research on self-directed learning seen in the 1970s and 1980s; despite today's rapidly growing body of literature on formal/informal/non-formal learning, our field of adult education and the sub-field of adult literacy have contributed remarkably little to expanding research on health literacy. Ironically, a number of the pedagogies of adult literacy education—from functional literacy, to interactive literacy, to critical literacy—have influenced the ways health education and health promotion have evolved and have been positioned in the public and research discourse (e.g., St. Leger & Nutbeam, 2000; Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1988). It is further ironic that so many of the participation issues facing health researchers are mirror images of those concerning adult education researchers. Nutbeam (2000), for example, reviewed several historic models of health and adult literacy education and concluded: "public policy discussions on health, and the need to create supportive environments for health may have had the unintended consequence of leading to structural interventions 'on behalf' of people—health promotion which is done 'on' or 'to' people, rather than 'by' or 'with' people" (p. 265). This "deficit perspective" critique is all too familiar to adult literacy educators (e.g., Beder, 1991; Quigley, 1997), but the cross-discipline implications are not yet known.

The Research Perspective and Design

Ours is a two-year, SSHRC-supported, investigation that is taking a collaborative approach to many of these health literacy issues. Working with community partners from the fields of community health and literacy education in two rural Nova Scotia counties, we are asking *what are the factors that influence the ways less literate adults living in northeastern Nova Scotia access and act upon health information and services, and what strategies for change will build upon existing capacities for achieving health?* We are not only asking "what/where/when" health information and services could be made more accessible to adults with low-literacy skill levels, we are also asking how policies and programs can be changed to improve access to those who face barriers to achieving good health.

The intention of this research is to provide a basis for improving public policy and programs to enhance the capacity for health of less literate adults living in rural northeastern Nova Scotia. With our partners, we are seeking opportunities to influence local, regional, and provincial polices which address varied aspects of health literacy. Further, through the broader dissemination of our findings, we hope to contribute to a growing national health literacy agenda that will shape policy at provincial, territorial, and federal levels.

To begin this study, we applied for and received support for a SSHRC Partnership Development Grant. Two community meetings were held in the rural counties of Antigonish and Richmond, Nova Scotia, respectively, in the fall of 2000. These meetings involved key stakeholders and practitioners working in the fields of community health and literacy, as well as adult learners who were currently participating in literacy/ABE programs. These local discussions informed the conceptualization and design of our SSHRC proposal, which was accepted by SSHRC in the spring of 2001. Our current community-based Advisory Panel grew out of these initial meetings and has been key to both the planning and implementation of the research process since.

Using an ethnographic, semi-structured interview methodology, data collection is being conducted with three different groups. The first group is comprised of adults with limited literacy —20 literacy program participants and 20 non-participants—from both counties, including members of the Acadian, Black, and Mi'kmaq aboriginal population. In-depth personal interviews are being conducted by a research assistant with a background in adult literacy. The second group includes 20 key informants comprised of both formal and informal community leaders from health and literacy in both rural counties. In-depth personal interviews are also being conducted with this group. Lastly, four focus groups with 40-48 health and literacy practitioners from both counties are being conducted. A four-stage reflective process will be utilized as the frame for both personal interviews and focus group discussions (Labonte & Feather, 1996). Specifically, participants are being asked to discuss their life experiences relevant to the study (description), analyze these experiences (explain), reflect on the meaning (meaning-making), and suggest action for change (action strategies)

Data analysis from transcripts of audio-taped interviews will be completed through standard code and retrieve method. Members of our multidisciplinary research team (including the disciplines of Adult Education, Human Nutrition, and Nursing) will review findings for preparation of the final report. A plain language report will be drafted and revised based on feedback from potential users, including the representatives of community partners, practitioners in health and literacy, and adult learners who have been involved. The final plain language report will be discussed at a stakeholder workshop and round table meeting in the spring of 2003. Directions for action and strategies for influencing policies and programs will be identified at this meeting. Stakeholders will include health and literacy practitioners, informal and formal leaders in the Richmond and Antigonish counties, participants in the partnership building workshops, as well as provincial and regional health and education policy makers. This approach will provide an opportunity to reach relevant policy-makers across the local and provincial health and education jurisdictions.

Findings To Date

With our Advisory Panel's input, we have developed the interview protocols, received the required ethics review approvals, and created the interview personnel lists. As of March 15, 2002—the time of writing—pilot interviews have been conducted with four key informants, one health practitioner, and two adult learners, with further personal interviews and a practitioner focus group planned in an adjacent county (Guysborough) which is serving as the pilot site. Interview guides are now being refined based on participant feedback. By May/June, 2002, preliminary findings from the pilot data will be available for discussion at CASAE.

Partnership building with community-based health and literacy organizations has already provided a strong foundation for this collaborative research project. Findings to date include insights into the necessity for community building around health literacy, and a rich set of preliminary community-generated data on health literacy has emerged. Insights on the collaborative efforts required to influence policies that have an impact on health literacy have also been identified.

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The Original Raging Grannies:
Using Creative and Humorous Protests for Political Education

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Abstract: In this paper, I look at the first group of the Canadian phenomenon of the Raging Grannies, their history, and their use of imaginative protests and satirical songs in their efforts to capture public attention, challenge authorities, and educate on various issues. I also briefly consider some of their impact.

Introduction

While feminist historians have been diligently retrieving women from the distant past, feminist theoretician Dale Spender suggests we are not good at preserving the more recent heritage (Spender quoted in Reinharz, 1992, p. 215). In the spirit of preserving women's histories of resistance, and their educational potential, I focussed my MA research on recording the history of the first group of Raging Grannies. This research took place in 1998; I interviewed five of the original members and did archival research on their activities between 1987 to 1991. The Raging Grannies have become a Canadian phenomenon offering a new approach to political protests. Fifteen years after the appearance of the Raging Granny persona there are more than 60 groups across Canada, an achievement in a land of diverse geography and cultures, and growing regionalisation. Also cause for curiosity is the distinctive form of protest they developed. I will focus on the original group of Raging Grannies and their use of creativity and humour in protests as a way to raise issues and educate on social and political issues.

History

The Raging Grannies began in 1987 in Victoria, British Columbia, and quickly spread across the country. White, middle-class, educated, between the age of 52 and 67, they were anthropologist, teachers, businesswoman, counsellor, artists, homemakers, and librarian. Initially they were reacting to the threat to health and environment posed by the visit of US Navy warships and submarines in the waters surrounding Victoria, vessels that could be powered by nuclear reactors and/or equipped with nuclear arms. They were also reacting to sexism and ageism within the peace group they were involved with: relegated to making coffee, they found little receptivity for their ideas. Finally, when asked about the beginning of the Raging Grannies most went back to their lifelong engagement in a variety of causes. For a few, activism was new. One woman, whose husband was an ex-military officer, was surprised to see possibly nuclear US Navy vessels literally in her backyard (Brightwell, 1998). Phoning around she was outraged to find that there were no emergency plans for the civilian population, only for the military base.

From the beginning they proved imaginative in their protests. They first experimented with street theater to bring attention to the presence of those US vessels in the harbour. Then they dressed in lab coats and, armed with makeshift Geiger counters and turkey basters, they tested water puddles for radiation at popular malls. When curious bystanders asked about their activities they were told about the US vessels in the harbour, which was not in the newspapers.

At that time they called themselves NERT---Nuclear Emergency Response Team. But seeing their movements repeated on TV during the Chernobyl tragedy, they felt they had to do something else. The first action by a group called Raging Grannies took place on February 14, 1987 when they offered an Un-Valentine to their MP, Pat Crofton, then Chairman of the Defence Committee. The broken heart was for his lack of commitment and action on nuclear issues. On a lullaby tune, they had written satirical lyrics for the occasion, which they sang crouching under an umbrella full of holes, symbolising the absurdity of sheltering under a nuclear umbrella. Two weeks later they joined a protest at the BC legislature during the government hearings on uranium mining: a laundry basket, full of a clothesline of women underwear, contained the "briefs" they wished to present at the hearings. In that context, symbols of women's work and a twist on the word briefs poke fun at the stuffy, often pompous, process of such hearings. The crowd loved it and the Grannies realised the potential of the Raging Granny figure.

Imaginative Protests

From then on, they wore disarming smiles, increasingly colourful clothing as a parody of stereotypes of older women, wrote witty satirical songs, brought a good dose of irreverence and a dynamic imagination for creative protests in their challenges to authorities. Divesting themselves of an "artificial notion of decorum and dignity" (Walker, 1998) they "reversed cultural expectations by empowering themselves in a society which belittles their experience and point of view" (Burns, 1992, p. 21). The Granny figure allowed older women to claim a public space. They often confounded authorities with their unpredictability and imagination. They once rode to the base in a horse-drawn carriage and carried flowers when a nuclear submarine was in. An article found in a granny's file, which had no date or publication name or author, said: "Officials at the base had to confer for quite a time about the request. . . . Finally the word came that the flowers couldn't be taken onto the base" ("Grannies Ride in Style"). Their actions often created ambiguity: why would inoffensive flowers delivered in an inoffensive horse-drawn carriage be refused when submarines containing nuclear arms were allowed in? Their unpredictability disturbed complacency, challenged routines, roles, and assumptions.

The Grannies have daringly crashed parties, receptions, commissions and hearings of all kinds to give visibility to issues or events that some wanted secret. The organisers of the first trade show of high-tech military products in Victoria wanted to keep protesters away because their presence would make US uniformed officers in attendance ill at ease (Stewart, 1989, p. 4). To their chagrin the Grannies showed up. The entrance being free for those wearing military uniforms the Grannies got out their veterans' uniforms or made them with things like cellophane and all kinds of gaudy baubles. Predictably refused entrance, they haggled long enough to allow cameras to reveal the little secret on the evening news. A year later, they resurrected the uniforms and trotted down to the Armed Forces Recruitment Office to sign up as volunteers as the threat of war in the Gulf increased: "unable by law to ask the Grannies their age, the baffled recruiters ploughed through the necessary paper work straight-faced; one Granny was even invited back for a math test! Back they were a week later with knitting needles and wool" (McClaren and Brown, 1993, p. 7). The granny invited back for a chance to qualify as a maritime officer displayed typical Grannies' humour: "I'm certainly prepared to go in any capacity they send me, . . . I wanted to go as a person who is experienced in conflict resolution. I qualify because I lived with a man for 40 years and brought up children" (Meissner, 1990).

They found, or made, humour in situations or places that may appear humourless. In the early 1990s they were invited to Ottawa for the Ageing Into the Twenty-first Century Conference. They met government officials, who acknowledged the Grannies had their facts right; but they made the officials nervous when they threatened to disrupt the Commonwealth Games if US nuclear vessels were still allowed in Victoria then! Taking the opportunity of being on Parliament Hill to broadcast their concerns to the nation, they launched the Granny Navy. *The Ottawa Citizen* reported:

> The 13 Raging Grannies who launched their own navy on Parliament Hill Friday could only be from lotus land. That there was hardly enough water in the moat around the Centennial Flame to float a rubber duckie. ... didn't deter them in the least. They "rowed" their dinghies on the concrete shoulder until beached by a Mountie. (Foley, 1990, p. 3)

From then on they serenaded US ships with dinghies, canoes, kayaks, and zodiacs as their smallness contrasted dramatically with the tremendous power of warships.

Witty Satirical Songs

Witty satirical songs were also part of their protests. During the free trade talks they used the beaver to raise the issue of Canadian sovereignty in a song:: "Here in the Land of the Beaver /... We want to be happy believers /...And the Tridents are out in the Strait / We have tested the cruise, terrorized caribous, .../ Maybe we'll be the fifty-first state / Nya nya nya nya, nya nya nya, nya nya," but in the next verse they assure us that "We will not test the cruise, terrorize caribous / And we won't be the fifty-first state / Nya nya nya nya, nya nya nya, nya nya" (Marczak Collection). The Grannies or their scratchy satirical singing were not always welcomed, so at times they used their age and respectability subversively. When the then federal minister for trade, Pat Carney, came for a visit at the Empress Hotel in Victoria, they lined up. Assuming them to be a receiving line, Carney smiled and shook their hands only to hear them break into a song, the Free Trade Trot: "... Who needs a culture or an identity / When we have Dynasty on our TV / ... The deal we've waited for / Our bucks will buy us more / Consumer goods galore / We may not know / Where our next jobs' coming from / But we'll have Calvin Kleins on all our /Bum, bum, bum, bums" (Marczak Collection). Acidly, Carney told them: "your singing is a hell of a lot better than your logic!" (Stuckey, 1989)

They wrote songs to express their views on social and political issues, be they local or global. To illustrate the environmental costs of greed in the forestry industry they sang:

> Take me out to the clearcut / We'll picnic on a few stumps / I want you to know I'm a tree-farming nut / Who thinks like a chainsaw that's stuck in a rut!/… It's the buzz of the mill that produces the thril! / Worth a million trees / So take me out to the clearcut / Who needs tall cedars…/ If God wanted trees he'd not make it so ea..sy /To whack them away! (Marczak Collection)

The Grannies managed to be informative on the driest of subjects, including PCBs:

> Po-ly-chlor-i-na-ted bi-phe-ee-nals / Will fry your brain and rot your adre-ee-nals /
>
> Concentrating in our fatty ti-ish-ue /… Chlor-o-flour-o-car-bon production / Is causing oZone layer reduction / When ultraviolet rays have seared us to the bone / We won't get much relief from using coppertone! /…It's not the way that life's portrayed on our TV / Our kids might all get cancer / and have defective genes / But they will be the best-dressed mutants / that you've ever seen! (Marczak Collection)

Impact

Because of their unpredictability and colourfulness the Grannies attracted media attention, at times generating debates in the press, which sometimes had their own tinges of humour as shown by these two letters to editors which appeared in local newspapers:

Grannies: ship'em out

> Am I alone in being underwhelmed by the latest cutesy episode in the continuing saga of the Raging Grannies ("Grey power platoon," Nov.3)? Such unique credentials they offer: "living with men and raising kids." I suggest to the Department of National Defence that it lowers its standards temporarily, recruit the old girls and ship them out to the Persian Gulf. When the Grannies have squared away presidents George Bush and Saddam Hussein, the military might well employ them elsewhere. How about a 10-year posting to Antartica, to establish a Canadian presence there? (Tassie, 1990).

Anti-Saddam weapon?

> We should all applaud the idea of the Raging Grannies going to the Persian Gulf, that land of sand and prickly heat. To make the trip worthwhile, perhaps they could arrange to take the place of hostages. Canadians on both sides of the Atlantic would benefit from such a gesture. There is also a chance that once Hussein hears the Grannies' off key singing, he may withdraw to avoid further punishment. (Rodger, 1991)

The media also used humour and called them "a kazoo-playing troupe [who] would rather needle politicians than knit" (Chodan, 1989, p. H3) or said they were "about as subtle as a chainsaw at a church social" (Ciriani, 1989, p. 3). The term Raging Granny has been used to denote persistence and occasionally silliness. During an open house on a US warship, they invited themselves on the deck for a tea party: the Captain, furious, un-ceremonioulsy kicked them off, which was reported in the press by a cartoon. Another cartoon published in the *Saanich News* (29 August 1990: A4) suggested they would be a great weapon against Saddam Hussein with their screeching voices. Being newsworthy, they helped with diffusion of information through the media. The fact that the Granny figure stuck in the media and in people's minds revealed the power of imagination, said Doran Doyle (1998), a member of the original group.

Other evidence of their impact has come from unlikely sources. Granny Brightwell (1998), previously married to an ex-military officer, heard it is written that no military personnel can belong to the Raging Grannies. Due to public pressure, of which the Grannies were a major part, changes have been made at the military base: they now have new equipment and a crew of 24 monitoring radiation 24 hours a day when US vessels are in the harbour. Ironically, the crew is called NERT (Nuclear Emergency Response Team)! The base commander is no longer allowed out of Victoria when US ships are in the harbour (Brightwell, 1998). The Grannies on Saltspring Island also helped defeat a plan to build a ferrochromium plant on the island; the rebuked New Jersey industrialist called them 'nuts' and 'welfare agitators' but had to look elsewhere when public opinion turned against his project (Acker, 1990, p. 6). A 1999 article reported that secret military documents revealed the RCMP considered the Grannies an "anti-Canadian force" and had an eye on them as a potential threat at the 1997 APEC conference in Vancouver (*The Canadian Unitarian* January 1999). Before September 11, this had its own share of humour; but now it maybe less so given the criminalisation of dissent and the consequences of such a label.

The creation of more than 60 groups across the country shows an indisputable impact on older women. While each group remains autonomous, they sometimes collaborate as on the GSTea party, pouring tea in local waterways--- a spoof on the Boston tea party to express dissent with the GST. There is no central structure but they hold national Un-conventions every two years and regional ones annually. There are also groups in the US, in Greece and possibly in other European countries. In 1999 some Canadian Raging Grannies performed in Europe at the Hague Appeal for Peace Conference. While they spread geographically, they have also broadened the issues they deal with. For example, in 1998 the Fredericton Raging Grannies organised a "Closets are for Brooms" action to protest a homophobic city council. As Martha Ackelsberg (1991, p. 165) suggested, "radicalization is born of action" and the new sense of self that develops when breaking with traditional models allows us to move in new directions; "participation in resistance often engenders a broader consciousness of both the nature and the dimension of social inequality and the power of people united to confront and change it" (1988, p. 307). The Grannies' experience seems to prove that crossing the boundaries of what is seen as appropriate behaviour with a supportive group can empowered --and lead to questioning "the appropriateness of those boundaries in the first place" (Ackelsberg 1991, p. 165).

Conclusion

The Raging Grannies provide a positive example of channelling rage and despair, and reveal older women 's playful energy. Fun, creativity, and humour are often overlooked in protests and in social movement but the Grannies show the power of humour and imagination for effective education on public issues. As a professor pointed out in class years ago, humour is collective as it requires shared understanding; humour shows always have sound tracks of laughter because people may cry alone but laugh together. Humour and creativity require greater intelligence:

while analytical skills are necessary they are not enough. They need the ability to analyse and perceive symbols active in a variety of issues but they also require creativity to go beyond and find the humour that reveals the problem and allow the conception of alternatives, along with a sense of mischief and daring to carry out their actions. Creative imagination is the enemy of fragmentation and dehumanisation; it is not a diversion but an essential part of change as it challenges conditioned responses (Coult and Kershaw, 1990, p. 13).

Their willingness to engage tells of a sense of optimism regarding the value and role of older women's collective action and solidarity. The Raging Grannies are not entertainers, although they often are entertaining. They are intervenors on the socio-political scene. Warren Magnusson, a political scientist at the University of Victoria, called them a "brilliant example of a group acting out their protests" and using their credibility as grandmothers to "undercut the legitimacy of military violence, corporate greed, and governmental insensitivity" (1996, p. 93-94). The irreverence and subversivity of the Raging Grannies is partly due to their identification of older women with an "un-motherly" public rage. They create new space for politics as they perform their protest not as authorities but as ordinary people with something to say, turning their identity, usually a liability, into a resource (Magnusson 1990, p. 536). Their actions are aimed at promoting dialogue and raising consciousness by stimulating political debates. "Faced with mega-billion-dollar expenditures on instruments of destruction and an environment teetering on disaster, a passionate response is highly appropriate" (Howard, 1989, p. 14).

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Lifelong Learning for All: Challenges and Limitations of Public Policy

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Introduction

With broad promises to solve the economic and social problems facing the industrialised world, lifelong learning is something of a 'New Jerusalem.' Any one doubting this just has to take a quick glance at national and intergovernmental policy documents for the last decade which uniformly promote lifelong learning **for all** as the foundation for educational and training policy.

The concept of lifelong learning is based on three fundamental attributes:

- it is **lifelong** and therefore concerns everything from cradle to grave
- it is **life-wide** recognising that learning occurs in many different settings
- it focuses on **learning** rather than limits itself to education

If taken seriously the lifelong and life-wide aspects constitute major challenges for the present public policy framework. However, nothing is more daunting than the full consequences of embracing the Copernican shift from a preoccupation with education to developing a strategy for learning. Thus, recent policy documents reflect a noticeable change in the interpretation: from a narrow focus on the education and training system, to the broader perspective of lifelong learning.

As reflected in the title of this paper *Lifelong Learning for All: Challenges and Limits of Public Policy* I would suggest that the shift from the original concept of lifelong education to lifelong learning has created a dilemma in that the concept is so broad it can encompass everything. Because everything from everyday learning to formal education is included, there is a risk of losing sight of fundamental issues like equality and justice and a temptation to move public policy concerns to the background. However, when it comes to the implementation of lifelong learning for all it is important to look closer at the changing understanding of the principle of lifelong learning and critically ask what role public policy can and ought to play.

The move from a preoccupation with organized forms of adult education to a focus on learning is widely applauded in North American adult education circles where recognition of informal learning is seen as one of the main elements in a progressive strategy for lifelong learning. Beginning with Alan Tough's work on learning projects (Tough, 1971; 1978) and later more fully developed in Nall's rich and impressive research program on informal learning we are presented with a very optimistic portrait of adults' engagement in lifelong learning. Nall's national survey on informal learning practices shows that nearly all Canadian adults (96 per cent) are involved in some form of explicit informal learning activities (Livingstone, 1999). It is certainly appropriate to claim that Canada is a 'learning society'. The classical law of inequality does not seem to apply to informal learning as no major differences were found with regard to social class, ethnicity or age. A very different picture of the Canadian Learning Society appears from analyses of participation in organised forms of adult education. Thus, in 1997 only 28 per cent of Canadian adults participated in organised forms of learning (Statistics Canada, 2001). As found in all similar surveys it is those from the middle and upper classes that benefit most. These findings suggest that Canada still has a long way to go before it will become an inclusive 'learning society.' It is from this perspective I will look at the role of public policy in a strategy for lifelong learning for all. The discussion will start with a brief analysis of the shifting understandings of lifelong learning and the consequences thereof.

The changing discourse on lifelong learning

As has been pointed out in the literature the concept of lifelong learning was being promoted already in the late 1960s and early 1970s but informed by other forces and ideologies than those that have driven the recent interest in lifelong learning. In the late 1960s, UNESCO introduced lifelong learning as a master concept and guiding principle for restructuring education. For a short period, lifelong learning – together with closely related ideas such as recurrent education, championed by OECD, and *éducatione permanete*, presented by the European Council—received considerable attention. The idea of recurrent education carried a less humanistic and more pragmatic accentuation. Recurrent education was commonly promoted as a system that would yield economic gains, benefit the labour market, lead to increased equality, and stimulate students' search for knowledge. The emphasis in recurrent education fell on educational institutions, and how resources could be better used by spreading an individual's education over the life cycle. The first wave of interest in lifelong learning quickly disappeared from the policy debate.

When it reappeared in the late 1980s it was in a different context and in different form. The debate was now driven by a different interest, with the core of lifelong learning structured almost exclusively around an 'economistic' worldview. Discussions were framed within a politico-economic imperative that emphasises the importance of highly-developed human capital, and science and technology. Together, these support economic restructuring and greater international competitiveness through increased productivity. The restricted view that has dominated the second generation of lifelong learning has been severely criticized. In fact it has become something of a growth industry among scholars to critically examine the policy documents and to deconstruct the dominant discourse.

In this perspective it is of interest to note that the policy document *A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning* from the European Union (Brussels, 30.10.2000) seems to signal that a paradigm shift has started to take place. The document, that is based on the decisions taken at the European Council held in Lisbon in March 2000, notes *Lifelong learning is no longer one aspect of education and training; it must become the guiding principle for the provision and participation across the full continuum of learning contexts.* The task for the member states is to *identify coherent strategies and practical measures with a view to fostering lifelong learning for all.* From the assumption that two features of contemporary social and economic change are interrelated the 2001 document stresses two equally important aims for lifelong learning: promoting active citizenship and promoting employability. This is a marked change from the 'economistic' ideology that up to now has dominated the EU policy strategy.

From the perspective of implementing lifelong learning, the three generations of lifelong learning reflect different roles for and interrelations between the three major institutional arrangements, state, market and civil society. The first generation of lifelong learning as expressed in the UNESCO tradition saw a strong role for civil society while the second generation privileged the market and downplayed the role of the state and almost totally neglected civil society. It is important to stress that these institutional arrangements are not static but interrelated. The influence of the market on the state-education relationship cannot fully be understood by reference to shifts away from state control towards privatization and decentralisation. With relevance becoming the key concept driving government policies on adult education and training, the interests of business have been privileged. The business sector is given the lead role in defining what competencies and skills the public educational system will produce. Recognising market failures, and growing concerns about large groups not participating fully in social and economic life, the third generation can be read as a shift in balance between the three institutional arrangements. The market has been given a central role but the responsibilities of the individual and the state are also visible. The language is one of shared responsibilities.

A closer reading of the text and the understanding that seems to dominate the present policy debate might lead one to be more sceptical of what looks to be a major shift in the public discourse. Despite the repeated reference to the involvement of all three institutional arrangements, what stands out in recent policy documents is the stress on the responsibility of the individuals for their own learning – something that is underscored time after time. Recognising that the member states are responsible for their education and training systems it is pointed out that these systems are dependent upon the input and commitment of a wide range of actors from all walks of social and economic life. However, with special emphasis on the individual the EU paper goes on to state (p. 4): *and not least upon the efforts of individuals themselves, who, in the last instance, are responsible for pursuing their own learning*. Similarly, in a fundamental shift from the traditional Swedish Social Democratic position on adult education, the 2001 Bill on Adult Education stresses that it is essential to begin with the needs of the individual as the starting-point for planning social measures (Rubenson, 2002). It is noted that adult education and training has so far been too concentrated on treating the individual as part of a collective with a common background and common needs with teaching organised in pre-packaged forms. Therefore the challenge for state-supported education and training is to cater to everyone on the basis of individual wishes, needs and requirements. The fundamental strategy for the state is to govern the choices of autonomous citizens in their capacities as consumers, parents, employees, managers and investors.

Thus, a fundamental assumption in the second as well as third generation of lifelong learning is that lifelong learning is an individual project. This is a problematic position. As Gordon (1991, cited in Marginson, 1997, p. 83) argues, the idea of life as '*the enterprise of oneself*' means that each person can be regarded as continuously employed in that enterprise. Consequently it is the responsibility of persons to make adequate provisions for the creation and preservation of their own human capital. Investment in learning and its financing are an individual responsibility. Differences in participation patterns strengthen the role of lifelong learning in the positional competition. An ideology that sees no role for the state in promoting the public-good function of adult education leaves participation to market forces.

An ideology that sees a small or no role for the state in promoting the public-good function of adult education leaves participation to market forces. If this were to happen it would be a major break with the traditional understanding of education as a key societal project.

The obvious danger in regarding lifelong learning as fundamentally an individual project is that as the public good aspect of lifelong learning is pushed to the side, the moral imperative of social needs is being sacrificed on the altar of individual choice. Lifelong learning for active citizenship and democracy can not be reduced to an individual project. Instead civil society refers to how and where the basic values, conduct and competencies of democracy are developed among citizens and puts focus, not on the individual but the relationships between individuals, as well as collective aspirations to create a better society.

This emphasis on the individual project brings up crucial issues around the relationship between the state and its citizens, and what understanding of democracy should inform state intervention into the market and civil society. As Amyarta Sen (1982) stresses, equitable resource allocations are not a sufficient condition for a just society. Instead, he introduces the concept of "basic capability equality." This refers to the need to take into account, among other things, differences in those abilities that are crucial for citizens to function in society. Nussbaum (1990) discusses the fundamental problem that people living under difficult conditions tend to accept their fate because they cannot imagine any reasonable alternative. She argues that instead of accepting this situation, with due respect to citizens' right to choose different ways of life, it is the duty of the state to see to it that citizens are in a position to make well-considered choices. This is a topic that I will return to throughout this paper.

In view of the constant proclamations of lifelong learning as an individual project and the optimistic findings on the distribution of informal learning in the Canadian population it is of interest to look closer at Sen's notion of basic capability equality using findings from the *International Adult Literacy Survey* (OECD, 2000). First industrialised countries with well established and generously financed educational systems have large groups of adults with inadequate functional literacy scores or in the language used here with limited basic capability for engaging in lifelong learning. This shows that for all countries the greatest challenge is how to engage this population in lifelong learning and to provide them with the instruments necessary to be able to fully participate in the knowledge economy and knowledge society. Second, while all countries face serious literacy problems the patterns differ greatly from one country to the other. If we look at the distribution of literacy scores across countries it is evident that there are major differences. The Nordic Countries, Netherlands, Germany and the Czech Republic report high averages and relatively smaller variations while the Anglo Saxon countries show more diversity with larger differences between the lower and upper ends. Further, it is of interest to note that there is a very strong relationship between, on the one hand economic inequality in a country and on the other hand, literacy inequalities. Where one is high the other is also rampant. Second the countries tend to group themselves in three distinguishable clusters. There are the Nordic countries with relatively speaking low economic and literacy inequalities. In the middle we can detect a continental European cluster with Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium with slightly higher inequalities than in the first group. And then there is the Anglo Saxon group which shows the highest level of inequality. With a danger of stretching these quite rough results a bit too far the data seem to suggest that the literacy inequalities are part of national structures and can be understood in terms of various forms of welfare state regimes. The liberal welfare state with its means-tested assistance and modest universal transfers would see literacy activities mainly as a way of getting people off welfare. Participation would mainly be left to market forces and entitlements are strict and often associated with stigma. The social democratic welfare state, according to Esping-Andersen (1989), rather than tolerate a dualism between state and market, between working class and middle class promotes an equality of the highest standard not an equality of minimal needs. The state will take a more active role and be more concerned about inequalities in participation. The distribution of basic capabilities point to discrepancies in readiness to engage in organized forms of adult learning. The IALS study suggests that public policy can be somewhat effective in moderating inequality in adult education participation. The central role, also the limit of public policy, is evident in the findings on participation in organised adult education which point to the long arm of the job.

The long arm of the family

Results from the *International Adult Literacy Survey* (IALS) indicate firstly that participation rates are particularly high in the Nordic countries. Secondly that there is a noticeable relationship between social background, educational attainment, and participation in adult education in all 22 countries in the study. However, in the context of public policy, it is particularly interesting that the relationship is stronger in some countries than in others.

From these results we can draw two conclusions. First the findings of the IALS strongly support previous inferences that adults' readiness to engage in organised learning activities can be explained by 'the long arm of the family'. There exists a strong link between an individual's level of functional literacy and the literate culture of the family of origin. While roots are established during childhood, readiness for learning is further fostered by the education system. The same social and cultural forces that support the relationship between early literacy and family background also influence the distribution of educational attainment in the population. Second while this long arm of the family is at work in all countries, public policy can to a certain degree, lessen its impact.

The long arm of the job

Research on participation in adult education and training shows that a country's ability to realise lifelong learning for all is more dependent on what happens at work than many of us wish to realise (see OECD, 2000). First, the findings confirm the central role that employers play in adult education and training. In all countries employers are by far the main external source of financial support for adult education. In many countries around 40 percent of those in the workforce that participated reported that they had received financial support from the employer. The data show how closely linked workplace characteristics are to participation in adult education and training. It is of interest to note that the likelihood of receiving employer-sponsored education and training is closely connected with the workers' use of literacy skills at work. It is also interesting to note that literacy level is a better predictor than educational attainment.

A very delicate issue is the extent to which public policy should address the education and training of the workforce. With the long arm of the job becoming ever more forceful a strategy for lifelong learning for all is as much an issue of labour market policy as of educational policy. Another distinction that has dissolved is that between adult education for personal development and job-related training; each contributes to the other. The findings on perceived usefulness of participation show a blurring of the boundaries between company/industry-specific training and general education (Statistics Canada, 2001). The new reality creates challenges not only for public policy but also for adult educators critical to how work has colonised the adult education sector.

While the findings on the long arm of the family and the long arm of the job point to the crucial role of public policy as well as its limitations the most fundamental challenge comes from a reinterpretation of informal learning.

Informal learning as policy

If one fully accepts that learning is the universe the focus will be on the context in which a person lives her/his life and the question is a) how educational is this context and b) who is involved in what kind of activities. The data is very clear on this. Thus, looking at involvement in cultural and political life we can see large socio-economic and ethnic differences in the nature of the involvement. So for example volunteer activity is strongly related to education and socio-economic status. The higher the education the more common it is to engage in volunteer associations (Rubenson, 1996).

Looking at life context as the curriculum for lifelong learning the available data sends a clear message emerges. Ultimately the development towards lifelong learning for all will depend on the extent to which society actively engages and makes demands on the skills and knowledge of *all* its citizens. Lifelong learning for all is conditional on a working life organised in a way that promotes the use of one's competencies, and a society where people are encouraged to think, act, and be engaged.

An important policy issue concerns the substitution effects between formal and informal learning. Does involvement in informal learning substitute for a lack of participation in organized activities? In order to draw far reaching policy conclusions based on the distribution of informal learning, more detailed information is needed on the extent to which informal learning impacts a person's social, cultural, economic and political resources with the help of which the individual can control and consciously command the life situation. However, the previous presented data on the distribution of basic capabilities in the Canadian population as well as the observed general level of inequalities in power, material possessions and command over one's life situation suggest that one will have to be careful in uncritically claiming that informal learning generally can substitute for a lack of involvement in organised learning activities. It is further of interest to note that the socio- economic differences are related to the extent the form of learning pays off in income, status, and cultural competence. The better the pay-off the larger the differences (Rubenson and Borgström, 1981).

In summary, when trying to implement lifelong learning public policy faces major challenges and limitations. The political project of promoting lifelong learning as an individual project is undermining the state's central role in making sure that the 'Learning Society' becomes an inclusive society where the public good of lifelong learning is firmly entrenched and not one established only on individual competition. It is a paradox that the strong commitment in adult education to the promotion of informal learning that is rooted in an emancipatory tradition may come to legitimate the present state project that has diametrically different ambitions.

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An Alternative Consciousness: Knowledge Construction in the Anti-Globalization Movement

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Abstract: This study has been designed to explore the nature of knowledge construction in the anti-globalization, or as it is termed by participants, the global justice movement. I argue that new social movements are particularly privileged sites for the construction of alternative knowledge systems, based on a rejection of the types of institutionalized, or globalized, knowledge that is prevalent in much of formal adult education of today. As such, this study serves to explore the meanings, structure, discourse and actions embodied within one group of the larger movement to determine whether an alternative and meaningful collective identity is present.[1]

Introduction

The idea for this study was born as I stood facing a police barricade in Quebec City in April, 2001 to protest the Summit of the Americas. In my brief time there, I experienced what I perceived to be two distinct things. First, there were expressions of alternate visions for the world, which seemed to encompass a different way of interacting with both humans and nature – an interaction that was intrinsically bound up with democracy, participation, dialogue, solidarity and pluralism. And second, the ferocity of the state's response indicated to me that the anti-globalization movement's resistance was a powerful threat to the hegemony of corporate globalization. It was from these initial observations that my interest was piqued and it occurred to me that this resistance might have implications for adult education practice as a whole.

Thus, the purpose of this study became a personal and academic investigation into this alternative consciousness in terms of its structure or anti-structure, meanings, symbols, discourse and praxis to determine what made this way of knowing unique in comparison to the neoliberal and corporate understanding of what knowledge and 'truth' are.

Theoretical Framework

As a basis for the research process, I conducted a survey of the relevant literature on contemporary social movements. As such I explored different theoretical orientations, such as: Resource Mobilization Theory (Cohen, 1985; Eyerman & Jamison, 1991), Political Opportunity Structure Theory (Kitschelt, 1986; Neidhardt & Rucht, 1991), Master Frame Theory (Carroll & Ratner, 1996), and New Social Movement Theory (Cohen, 1985; Offe, 1985). To extend this analysis, I looked more in depth at four theorists in particular, with reference to their development of theory on both the formation and structure of contemporary social movements – Jürgen Habermas (1971, 1981, 1987), Alberto Melucci (1985, 1988, 1989, 1995) and Ron

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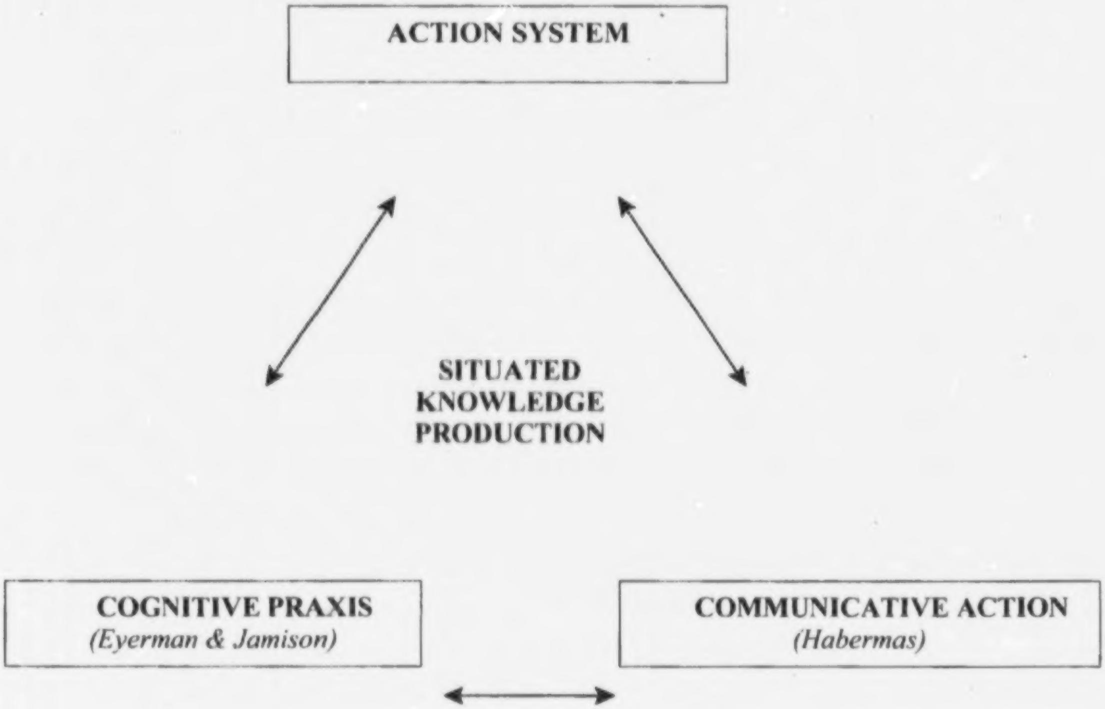
[1] Given the current climate of the criminalization of dissent in Canada, the name of the group studied has been withheld.

Eyerman & Andrew Jamison (1991). Their work on social movements provided me with pieces to a larger puzzle, which I synthesized into my theoretical framework.

One complaint emerged as I delved into the literature on contemporary social movements. The two predominant strains, Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) and New Social Movement Theory (NSM), were answering different questions. RMT views social movements as a vehicle for individual action based on a cost-benefit analysis – individual interests, opportunities, mobilization tactics and strategies for resistance are the indicators used to explain the emergence of collective action (Canel, 1992; Cohen, 1985). NSM theory, on the other hand, envisions social movements as engaged in a process of redefining meaning production where the collective seems to be privileged to the individual (Cohen, 1985). Put more succinctly, RMT asks questions of 'how' movements organize, rather than 'why'. NSM suffers from the opposite approach, exploring issues of why people come together in collective action, but ignoring the processes that keep them engaged (Canel, 1992). Bearing this division in mind, I sought to create a theoretical synthesis which might address both of these questions in the study of one group.

This synthesis involves three main concepts and is depicted graphically below. These concepts are: social movements as action system, cognitive praxis and communicative action.



A case study that combines an analysis of the structural considerations, the mobilization forces, the issues of both individual and collective identity formation, and the praxis of contemporary social movements would prove useful in understanding the manner in which all of these factors converge to establish a context for knowledge production.

Research Design

The case study methodology was selected for this research project in order to provide insights into the nature of this phenomenon in a small-scale setting but with a wealth of detail. As part of this methodology, the methods selected for a maximum of qualitative data were in-depth semi-structured interviews with members of the group to discover their understanding and articulation of the alternative knowledge system, participant-observation in both formal and informal settings to understand how this knowledge is constructed, communicated, reinforced and expressed, and a document/internet site review to determine both the nature of discourse around this knowledge system and how it is disseminated.

With these methods borne in mind, the research questions for this study are as follows:

- What are the specific structures and processes that have elicited the production of this knowledge system?
- What are the characteristics of this alternative way of knowing?
- How does this knowledge differ from the so-called objective reality of globalization ideology?
- What discourse is developed in the construction of this knowledge system? What does it indicate about its nature?
- How is this system of local knowledge externalized and shared among the members of the global justice movement?
- How does the movement seek to disseminate their knowledge to both members and the larger public?

Preliminary Findings – Major Themes

The findings presented in this paper are preliminary in nature. Being a new researcher, I lacked the perspective and experience to recognize that research is indeed often a long and sometimes painful process, occasionally marked by long periods of waiting. Indeed, I had assumed my entry into the group would be much more swift then it was because of my previous engagement on the periphery of the movement. This was not the case and the process-orientation that I so admired about the group was that which hindered my project. Hence, I can only present preliminary results in the format of broad themes at the moment. Nonetheless I think these observations still shed light on the construction of knowledge within the global justice movement and are important to explore further.

Contemporary social movements clearly create knowledge within an oppositional framework. As Melucci tells us, "They don't ask, they offer" (Melucci, 1985: 812). But what does this movement offer? In my investigation, it seems that through their resistance these social movement actors collectively present alternatives to the dominant norms and values of corporate globalization – alternatives which are people-centred, emancipatory and informal. Thus, they are not only subject to their structural context, but also shape the context in which they operate. Through the raising of the questions, the new social movement actors offer new alternatives to the present structures of domination. They seek to render the power of neoliberal hegemony visible. Thus, collective resistance has embraced the role of soothsayer – creating a terrain where the new conceptions of the 'truth' can be formed and articulated. Through this process, as Melucci has argued, all people are called to meet their full human potential, as self-aware and reflective actors embarking on a process to direct and make meaning in their own lives, as well as operating as "…nodes in a network of coexistence and communication" (Melucci, 1995: 293). They produce this knowledge in four different ways: first, through articulation that an alternative is possible; second, through the group structure in which they organize; third, in the communicative action framework which they adopt; and finally through their action/reflection cycle, or praxis.

An Alternative Exists – New Worldviews

In a broad sense, all of the meeting, actions, documents, workshops and informal discussions within the organization are underpinned by one concept – an alternative to corporate globalization is possible. This counter-hegemonic assertion is bolstered through the plethora of activities of other activists around the world. Through the establishment of community kitchens, workshops on the effects of wartime security, demonstrations against the transnational financial institutions, and personal decisions not to purchase from Wal-Mart or contribute to a culture of consumerism, these actors, individually and collectively, are articulating a vision of the world which represents a rejection of domination and an embrace of different tactics which support people's articulation of their own identities. Indeed, this can be said to be the collective identity of this group – it is shared and understood by all of the diverse actors as the basis for their struggle. This is, in a sense, the font from which their contestation flows and sustains activists in the difficult work of engaging in resistance for social change.

More broadly, in the Ricoeurian sense, one can see the articulation of utopia. By this I mean utopia as a counter-force to ideology, or the vehicle for "the exploration of the possible" (Ricoeur, 1986: 310). The global justice movement embraces this exploration and perhaps may be utopian at its core.

Structure/Anti-hierarchy

Not only do contemporary social movements and actors present overt resistance to dominant codes, but as Melucci suggests, also provide a source of symbolic resistance through their very structure (Melucci, 1985). Further, it is this structure that provides a context through which new knowledge can be constructed (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991). This is clearly the case of the group that I am studying, however, this alternative structure might more aptly be titled as anti-hierarchical space or utopian space. This group, through its use of anarchist principles of organization, has provided a space which is more directly democratic, participatory and identity-based for its members. This is reflected in a number of ways. First, the group operates as a coalition of members who are also engaged in other struggles. Among those represented are various labour groups, environ-mentalists, anti-racist activists, socialists, peace activists, anti-poverty workers, student groups, political organizations and those that identify themselves as anti-globalization activists. This coalition basis means that there cannot be one statement of unity – instead there are a multiplicity of voices and views expressed within the group, and an attempt is made to create space for all of them. In addition, the group utilizes rotating chairs and has no staff to maintain an equal power differential among its members. Indeed, through mobilizing and organizing via committees, each member finds a voice of their own, and has the opportunity to fulfill their own needs in terms of participation. Thus the anti-structure of the group presents a symbolic challenge to the top-down, centralized and hierarchical approach of corporate globalization.

Communication & Discourse

The manner in which this multiplicity of voices is mediated is through consensus-based decision making. Instead of viewing communication as a means to an end – as a strategic tool for arriving to agenda-driven decisions – this group seeks to achieve consensus from all its members before any decision is made. Of course, it is important to recognize that there is inevitably a gap between aspiration and actuality, and sometimes a consensus process simply results in compromise rather than its goal of agreement. In addition, it is important to recognize that while there are a multiplicity of voices represented, the movement has been correctly identified, both within and outside of it, as a white middle-class movement. However, it seems evident that, to some extent, loyalties, ambitions and even identities are parked at the door in order to engage in meaningful dialogue. As such, the communicative action framework that is established through this process, in and off itself, provides a symbolic resistance to the win-lose logic of corporate globalization.

Indeed, the discourse used within the group represents this challenge. In what seems at first a sort of *bricolage* of ideas from 'old social movements', global justice activists use terms such as dialogue, democracy, solidarity, participation, and diversity to define themselves collectively as a separate system – a system of meaning that is alternative to the cult of efficiency pre-supposed by the architects of corporate globalization.

Praxis or the Action/Reflection Cycle

In terms of action, this group seems to use mobilizations and tactics to serve four main functions: exposure, education, solidarity/recruitment and challenge. The first function, which is most often seen in large demonstrations, is the idea of exposing the enemy, or saying 'I see you!' Rendering the power of transnational financial institutions visible is one of the key goals of action. The second function relates to the education of the public at large but also the capacities of their membership. Through workshops, teach-ins, movie nights on political issues, panel discussion or puppet-making seminars for protest, this group seeks to bring the issues out of the hands of the powerful, and reclaim knowledge production for the people. The third function, that of solidarity or recruitment, serves to bring others into the movement. Linked to education, these actions promote interest in the group and allow new members to find expression of their identity in the movement. The final role of action, challenge, is clearly the most obvious. This group uses oppositional politics, both physical and symbolic, to articulate their new vision of the world.

However, praxis also involves reflection. Through reflexive thought, both individually and collectively, members explore the meaning and effects of these actions in two ways. First, the success of the action is based on its objectives. How many people attended the protest, meeting, teach-in? How many people were recruited? Was it covered by the media? Was there a clear articulation of the goal of the action? These can be seen as more instrumental measures of success. However, there is another process of reflection in this group, which is more clearly linked to emancipatory knowledge. At regular intervals, this group sets aside time in their general meeting to reflect specifically on a broader perspective of 'where are we going?' In these sessions, members are asked to analyze the actions and the directions of the group in order to provide an opportunity for new ideas and innovations. This action/reflection cycle provides the group with the learning curve that keeps their struggle going.

Implications for Adult Education Theory and Practice

By examining the manner in which the global justice movement constructs its resistance through structure, communication, worldview assertion and praxis, it may present some alternative systems for both the confrontation and the reconstruction of public policy around a multitude of issues. Indeed, as Holford reminds us the fact that social movements are producers of alternative knowledge is of importance to adult educators who seek to utilize emancipatory frameworks in their critical pedagogy. This movement's articulation of an alternative way of being in the world may speak to new ways in which adult educators can divorce themselves for the current trend of professionalization and instead challenge and inspire people to be part of social change.

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Learning in the Union Local: The Key to Building Strategic Capacity in the Labour Movement[1]

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Abstract: This paper explores the role of union member's everyday learning as a key resource for building strategic capacity within the labour movement. The educational character of working-class life internationally and historically along with models of capacity building in the labour movement and Canadian research project are outlined.

Introduction

> [T]he union's role as I see it is to highlight what knowledge we actually do have and how we attain it. How we actually do learn things.
>
> - Chemical worker in the WCLS Project

In a recently completed research project on education and learning amongst union members in Canada workers like the one above talked about the role of learning and education in their lives as trade union members and working-class people. Echoing the notion of 'cognitive praxis' put forth by Holford (1995), they outlined how their everyday lives were connected with the development of their union local and that one of the most important roles of unions is to facilitate development of a broad, working-class learning culture. Rank-and-file members and experienced activists outlined the different ways that union courses, meetings, committees, newsletters, campaigns, and so on were woven through their lives, accenting a dense fabric of everyday, working-class experience. This paper begins from the informal learning and everyday cultural life of trade union members: specifically, the relations amongst members' everyday, learning lives, labour education, the labour movement, and the synergy to be found in their co-ordination. The discussion is aimed at developing a more coherent understanding of the significance of linking organizational features of unions and labour education to the everyday learning cultures of members in their work, home and community lives. I claim that though the basic concerns expressed here are not all that new there remains several gaps in our understanding of the issues involved. To begin with, on the one hand the everyday lives of workers are documented in social histories of the labour movement, biographical documents, and ethnographic studies of working-class life, though we rarely see workers' activities conceptualized as a 'learning process' per se. As Martin (1998) has noted, those seeking systematic documentation will have to "tease out the learning dimensions" (p.75) of these materials. On the other hand, in labour education writing, few studies have effectively conceptualized and researched the broad processes of learning themselves. I begin the discussion below with a brief review of key (English-language) sources that deal with activities in Europe, Britain and the United States across different historical contexts. I then turn toward activities in Canada. Finally, I highlight a research project that partly addresses the gap in our understanding of everyday learning within trade unions, linking these findings with literature on capacity building within the labour movement. Throughout, we see why unions would benefit from renewing and re-inventing its linkages with the learning lives of members, and that building strategic capacity may depend on workers' learning culture.

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[1] This paper is indebted to the union members involved in the research projects.

The Importance of Everyday Learning in Working-Class Life: Re-reading the Literature

Though they are not conceptualized as studies of adult learning, most social histories of working-class life and the labour movement from E. P. Thompson to David Montgomery and more recently Michael Denning can be re-read to reveal the rich, inter-locking relationships of working-class culture, the labour movement and adult learning communities. Though I can't fully elaborate in this space (see Sawchuk, 2002; Livingstone and Sawchuk, 2000), I claim that to accomplish this type of re-reading requires a particular conception of human learning that runs against most common sense and academic characterizations of the learning process. Building on the Vygotskian approach of the 1920's and 30's as well as more contemporary iterations in the form of activity theory, this alternative conception turns 'learning' on its head to claim the process as definitively cultural and historical rather than individual, conscious or cognitive. Such a view allows us to see that pub life, strikes, union campaigns, events, workplace organization, direct action, the relation between the home, gendered and racial dimensions of social life, and so on do in fact make up the processes through which working people collectively produced working-class perspectives, knowledge and understanding in everyday life. Oral histories from the early 20th century USA, for example in the work of Lynd and Lynd (1981), and Stephan-Norris and Zeitlin (1996), are particularly good in this regard. They crackle with reflections on a valuable learning culture predicated on everyday activity, class conflict and culture. Writing on workers' education and the labour movement in Britain is also, to my mind, one of the most developed English-language sources of discussion on the complexities and inter-connections between class-struggle, culture, labour and adult learning. Of these, the writings of Raymond Williams (McIlroy and Westwood, 1993) are the most sophisticated. Williams's reflection on his work as a Workers Educational Association tutor in post-war Britain is informed by an integration of theories of communication and culture with everyday life, the emotive 'structure of feeling' of participants and communities, all in the context of politically charged relations of labour, higher education and the left. At the close of the 20th century, writings from Australia, Sweden, China, South Africa continue to echo, rediscover and re-invent similar themes (Spencer and Law, 2002).

In Canada, social histories of working-class life by Bryan Palmer, Joan Sangster and Betina Bradbury all make available to adult educators links between adult learning, working-class community life and forms of union organization. Heron's (1996) brief history of the Canadian Labour movement, again without any conceptualization of adult learning per se, outlines the power of these everyday patterns of social organization and learning for workers' early struggles.

> [There is] scattered evidence that, when workers had more regular contact with each other and were assembled in larger groups, they banded together to confront their employers with their concerns... Never was there any formal or permanent organization to carry on these battles. [W]orkers, generally of the same ethnic background, simply organized spontaneously in defence of the values and customs of their individual community. (p.4)

Further examples of the type of tight integration can be found in our past. In the memoirs of Allen Schroeder (1984), for example, we see a description of an activist who in the 1930's and 40's sought to initiate study circles and a Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) cell structure amongst fellow autoworkers.[2] Schroeder and his union strongly endorsed, as others have done at various points in time, the idea that the home was one of the most important places of (informal) learning for trade unionists. Building on this broad notion of labour education, Garcia-Orgales (1995) outlines how existing union structures such as grievance procedures combine informal learning with formalized legal structures (i.e. the collective agreement), organizational events (e.g. monthly meetings), union publications, and union tools courses (e.g. steward training) to contribute to cadre formation. Garcia-Orgales's message echoes earlier studies (e.g. Ellinger and Nissen, 1987), while other work that documents how workers' social networks are disorganized by management led workplace reorganization schemes (e.g. Gryzb, 1981) adds further weight to this argument. Emancipatory perspectives on adult learning define it as a process of social action and social change. If these perspectives are correct, then it is to a definitively educational process and more specifically the everyday learning and informal social organization - that resilient 'fabric' of working-class cultural life - that today's labour movement owes its existence. Indeed, if today, as trade unionists, we've allowed formal courses to eclipse the everyday learning that allowed, against all odds, early workers' movements around the globe to take root, then it would seem we've made a glaring, strategic error.

Everyday Learning and Capacity Building in the Labour Movement

Theorizing learning amongst workers has never been a particularly pressing goal for trade unions in Canada or elsewhere. Material resources are perpetually scarce and are often directed toward the more immediate requirements of collective bargaining, organizing as well as forms of direct action. A large-scale research project that sought to address the research gaps outlined above was initiated in the mid-1990's attempted to establish a qualitative data-base of the learning strategies of union members and working-class households in the context of economic restructuring in Ontario, Canada with a focus on five key economic sectors of the Canadian economy (Auto, Chemical, Garment, Public Service and Steel).[3] Making use of the key findings of this project included a call for the reorganization of the labour process to allow more incidental as well as planned contact amongst co-workers. Though only indirectly related to "labour education" per se, achieving these types of changes would typically involve bargaining for time, space and appropriate conditions for worker-to-worker communication. Clean and quiet space to meet, a looser and more democratic structure in the labour process, and the freedom of workers to inquire into the range of production activities around the workplace were all seen to be part of reforming the workplace learning that union members do. These patterns of interaction and the material resources associated with them, were often unevenly distributed amongst different groups of workers, and defined learning, knowledge production and the balance of power within the workplace. Workers also discussed union and community-based learning. Recommendations in these areas included investigation and support for broadening the non-work-related, informal learning networks that already existed in worker's lives. The recognition that valuable learning took place in informal ways gave rise to a seemingly new relevancy to local newsletters and communications strategies as a means of developing these connections.

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[2] Friesen (1994) offers a brief comparison of labour education philosophies of Schroeder and others that depicts the narrowing of labour educational interests in the early post-war period.

[3] Working-Class Learning Strategies (WCLS) project (see Livingstone and Sawchuk, 2000; in press).

To better understand these findings, however, it makes sense to focus on one union local specifically in order to provide a more complete sense of workers' own voices in the research process, while at the same time shedding more light on the everyday learning of union members. One of the union locals that I worked with most closely over several years was the 144 member local of chemical workers in the Greater Toronto area. Locals entered the research for different reasons, and this local union wanted to understand how members learned amongst each other, the barriers and opportunities for this learning, and ways to mediate the company's (at that time new) ISO-related work reorganization and training schemes. We found that interests in learning about production, union issues as well as home and community matters were woven together as the shared foundation of ongoing activity amongst workers in the plant. Everyday participation with co-workers inside and also outside of the workplace involving things like home repair, computers or gardening, for example, contributed to the development of networks that turned out to be vital for articulating union issues, information and education. Drawing on an activity theory perspective, this represented a series of inter-linked networks of practice. The ability to generate departmental networks for discussion of production problems also contributed to the development of informal networks that facilitated union learning. In this research site, union learning depended, first on the existence of these worker-centred networks, and second on the ability of the activists to link these networks with union structures, through discussion, courses, newsletters, meetings, picnics, internal political campaigns, committee work, publications and so forth. Virtually all workers interviewed discussed either the direct or indirect union-learning that revolved around discussion of a difficult strike eight years prior. This narrative functioned as what Vygotsky would have referred to as a 'cultural tool' that articulated an historical dimension of the union's activity, mediated dispersed informal networks, and helped workers to generate a more coherent working-class standpoint in their own activity, and in turn introduced what activity theory calls a broader 'motive' structure to practice. As other research literature indicated, we also saw that these processes could be interrupted. Just as the foundation of the union learning culture was the everyday connections between workers, the disorganization of informal networks through competing company programs (e.g. Quality programs), shift scheduling, changes in the production process posed a clear threat to union learning.

Two of the most important practical ideas that emerged at the Chemical site involved strategies to better integrate everyday cultural networks and the more organized features of labour education and the local union. As reported in Sawchuk (1998) the local tried to make critical use of PLAR and the development of a 'Workers' Knowledge Bank'. The idea of PLAR as tool for extending and fortifying existing cultural networks and impulses of workers to band together to share (class) experience and develop understanding. The research process of exploring, together with workers, the power of their existing everyday learning networks, in conjunction with ideas like PLAR and the Knowledge Bank, helped us to see practical ways that labour education can be supported and strengthened at the level of the union local.

Our contention at the end of our research was that learning culture was a key resource for the labour movement. However, discussions of strategic capacity building in social movements generally have been wide-ranging and diverse. Several analyses of social movement building issue from adult education scholars (see Foley, 1998 for a review), but the range of work that has attempted to explain the rise and fall of the strategic capacity of the labour movement specifically was more often rooted the fields of sociology and economics. In these fields, discussions of capacity building in the labour movement emerge in two basic guises: the labour market model and the resource mobilization model.[4] Labour market models attempt to link the growth in strategic capacity within the labour movement to demand side (demand for labour) and supply side (supply of labour) changes and the tactics that various forms of unionism have used historically. In general, the logic is that unions grow when labour markets are tight. The resource mobilization model on the other hand suggests that organized labour, in fact, creates these economic conditions. Resources are understood to be broader than simply legal or financial resources but rather include cultural resources such as discursive development, expansion and clarification of value-systems and so on. Both models, however, ignore the practical human processes and agency that are at the heart of resource mobilization and labour market tactics, and in general each confuse symptoms for causes.

An educational model of capacity building in the labour movement development begins from the cultural learning lives of union members. Wellman (1995), for example, has observed that in contrast to the many different unions in the U.S. that have experienced declined, the San Francisco dock workers have remained 'activist and radical' and a serious political force in Northern California. He claims that this is primarily due to their ability to promote and activate trade union values of solidarity, equality in the context of democratic individualism and a culture of 'insubordination' (p.306). Building on the findings of the WCLS project we could extent Wellman's analysis to ask: what is the active promotion, transmission and development of values if not a definitively educational process rooted in the everyday lives of workers?

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[4] See Shorter and Tilly, 1978; Freeman, 1983; Klandermans, 1984; Zald and McCarthy, 1987; Morris and McClurg, 1992; Tarrow 1994; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996; Cutler and Aronowitz, 1998.

Conclusions

The everyday, cultural networks of union members have always been the foundational strength of the labour movement as a careful re-reading of historical studies of union and working-class culture shows. However, workers do not live in a cultural vacuum: competitive individualism, consumerism and capital dominate. In this context, if isolated from democratic structures informal, everyday learning has the potential to ratify divisions along a variety of lines including race, gender, age, region and nation. Beyond this, I've intimated that a variety of factors have helped to erode the traditional union power of workers' informal learning networks: dominant ways of thinking about the learning process itself; a lack of systematic research that focuses on workers full learning lives; and not least of all the cultural programs of capital such as the Quality programs. The brief summary of the WCLS work links with and extends the basic 'resource mobilzation' model of capacity building in the labour movement by demonstrating the types of mundane, but often latent, potentials seeded in workers' everyday lives. The lesson is not a new one though, to my mind, it can be much more clearly defined: unions must renew and reinvigorate their ability to become central to workers' everyday learning lives. It is an image predicated on the development of a energized, radical and knowledgeable membership ready, as with the case of the San Francisco dock workers, for participatory democracy and the fight to achieve it.

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From Ear to Ear:
Cross-Cultural Understandings of Aboriginal Oral Tradition

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My friend, Louis Bird, used to tell me how he learned stories as a child. He used to sit close to the fire and listen to his uncle tell stories, all the while counting the number of times his uncle's spit would sizzle into the flames as he got more animated. Later he and his cousins would laugh and imitate their uncle.

For many years, Louis learned and told stories only in the context of the communities along the rugged muskeg coastline of western Hudson and James Bay. By the 1980's Louis began to be invited to story-telling festivals in Canada and internationally. The stories that originated with his ancestors, passed from ear to ear in Mushkego Cree, now had a much wider audience. Louis talks about how he learned that there are different levels of delivery depending whether you were telling the story to a child, a teenager, an adult or an Elder. He regularly adjusts the stories to edit the harshness or the elements that he doesn't think the listener is ready for. He also learned that telling Cree stories to non-Native people required another layer of editing, yet he felt that these were important stories to share.

Just like Louis felt the need to collect, tape, transcribe and translate stories from his area, many communities across Canada are also initiating oral history projects for their own reasons. Since the Supreme Court recommendations in the Delgamuukw case were released in 1997, discussions are ongoing and more questions are being posed regarding the use of oral histories in cross-cultural forums. The Supreme Court recommended that oral historical evidence be "placed on an equal footing with the types of historical evidence that courts are familiar with, which largely consists of historical documents"(Delgamuukw v. British Columbia [1997] 3 S.C.R. 1010). This recommendation gave many communities and individuals much cause for optimism, yet the judges gave little guidance about how oral histories were to be interpreted in a legal context.

In this paper I will be examining some of the issues identified when Aboriginal oral histories are brought into cross-cultural contexts..While the legal system is often the central focus of discussion, I will also touch on interpersonal issues such as ways of listening and understanding interculturally.

The term "cross-cultural" refers to a comparative approach to understanding phenomena in different cultures. Individuals from each culture find ways to work together based on this comparative understanding. Whereas the term "intercultural" implies that there is potential for cultural change, when two or more cultures interact (UBC, Foundations of Intercultural Studies 2002, p. 11). The two terms tend to be used interchangeably.

The terms "oral history" and "oral tradition" in certain contexts have very different definitions. Typically oral history is based on first hand experience occurring during the lifetime of an eyewitness (Cruikshank, 1994, p. 404). Oral tradition on the other hand, refers to the "process by which the information is transmitted from one generation to the next" (Cruikshank, 1994, p. 404). Often this information is second or third hand. Yet in practice the definitions of oral tradition and oral history are not so rigid. For some, the product and the process of communication are inseparably intertwined (Borrows, 2001, p. 5). I will be using the terms "oral history" and "oral tradition" interchangeably throughout this paper depending on the source used.

Julie Cruikshank (1993) elaborates on this: "Oral tradition is more than a body of stories to be recorded and stored away. It is not always passed on in the form of complete narratives. In communities where I have worked, oral tradition is discussed and debated as part of a lively process, a way of understanding the present as well as the past" (p.2).

While it is easy to view Aboriginal oral history simply as evidence or data separate from community, culture and history when in the context of the courtroom, to Aboriginal peoples oral history embodies a system of Indigenous knowledge based on traditional beliefs and values. The themes that emerged from my research show that although the issues discussed are linked to the legal system, oral histories are intricately a part of the community and the culture in which they originated.

Issues such as interpretation, evaluation and comparison of the written and the oral loosely fall within the category of contextual issues. These issues take us away from the way in which Aboriginal rights and title are litigated, to the contextual differences between the culture of the courtroom and the culture of Aboriginal communities.

In 1991, in the British Columbia courts, Judge McEachern ruled against the claims of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples. One of the main reasons he cited was, "I am unable to accept oral histories as reliable bases for detailed history, but they could confirm findings based on other admissible evidence" (Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, [1991] 3 W.W.R.97). After that judgment was announced, Julie Cruikshank (1998) wrote that: "the inescapable lesson seems to be that removing oral tradition from a context where it has self-evident power and performing it in a context where it is open to evaluation by the state poses enormous problems for understanding its historical value" (p.64).

Within the context of the community the transmission of oral tradition is not conveyed in a singular, detached and decontextualized way. John Borrows describes that oral history in many Aboriginal groups is "conveyed through interwoven layers of culture that entwine to sustain national memories over the lifetime of many generations" (2001, p. 8). He goes on to say that there are many types of traditions that are a product of this process such as "memorized speech, historical gossip, personal reminiscences, formalized group accounts, representations of origins and genesis, genealogies, epics, tales, proverbs and sayings" (Vansina, 1985, 13-27). And each of these are reinforced by specific cultural practices such as ceremonial repetition, witnessing by assigned individuals, dances, feasts, songs, poems, the use of testing and the use and importance of place. The point being that oral tradition does not stand alone, but is given meaning through the context of specific cultural practices (Borrows, 2001, p. 9).

Part of understanding oral histories in their proper context is knowing that they often come with a complex set of rules. These rules stipulate when stories should be told, who has the right to tell the story and restrictions as to how much interpretation the teller can add (Spielmann, 1998, p. 184). In the context of the courtroom some rules of this type may be compromised. In creating the circumstances that are true to oral histories being told outside of the context of the community concessions are made for non-Aboriginal listeners and for the courts in particular.

One of the biggest challenges to cross-cultural interpretation of Aboriginal oral histories within the courts is due to the variety of interpretation modes. The courts have a tendency to make a distinction between what is viewed as 'historical fact' and what is viewed as 'beliefs' (Culhane, 1998, p. 123), thus differing interpretations of Aboriginal oral histories risk being categorized as 'beliefs' which have not held the same legitimacy in the courts as 'historical facts'.

Cruikshank also identifies the difference between 'beliefs' and 'facts' as an important interpretive issue and uses beliefs about glaciers as an example:

> I don't think judges would believe that the glaciers listen, that the glaciers respond to humans, but he might believe that people believe that, but then he is assessing the beliefs rather than understanding that these are ways of thinking about things (1999, personal interview).

It should also be noted that the adversarial foundations of the Canadian judicial system may distort oral traditions. "Distortion may unintentionally occur to the oral history evidence of given the passions and prejudices associated with the adversarial system. When oral traditions are collected as pieces of evidence to support positions, interpretations are influenced by anthropologists, historians, ethnographers, and by decisions-makers" (Hanna, 2000, p. 13).

Despite the difficulties in interpretation and verification, there is no doubt that at times, oral histories present greater opportunities for understanding historical events than the recitation of bare facts. It can teach us much about the intellectual, social, spiritual and emotional state of the event for that specific group (Borrows, 2001, p. 13). The importance of oral history may not lie in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism and perception. (von Gernet, 1996, p.51). "Wrong" statements can still be psychologically true and reveal more about the people and the context of events than the mere fact under study (Borrows, 2001, p.13). von Gernet reinforces this sentiment when he says that "what informants believe, is indeed a historical fact (this is, the fact that they believe it), as much as what really happened" (1996, p. 50).

Just as what we view as "fact" comes out of our own cultural experience, so too is how we learn (or don't learn) how to listen. Ted Chamberlin pointed out that: "just as we learn how to read, so we learn how to listen; and these learnings do not come naturally. Nor are they the same across different traditions, listening to which may be as different as reading English and Chinese and Arabic" (1999, personal interview).

Yet listening is so central to human existence that we seldom give it a second thought. To listen is to take an interest in, take to heart, validate, acknowledge, to be moved by and appreciate another's experience (Nichols, 1995, p. 13). The essence of good listening is empathy, which means suspending our preoccupation with ourselves and entering into the experience of another (Nichols, p. 10). This is a skill that is acquired only after much effort and practice.

Learning to listen and the time it takes to truly learn about and understand Aboriginal oral histories is an area that needs more attention. It is also important not just to learn to listen, but to learn about specific Aboriginal cultures, as all oral traditions are unique to each individual culture. Much of a good interview with someone relating oral histories is dependant on the skill of the interviewer and the rapport of the teller and the listener. Judges and lawyers are skilled at asking questions and in articulating circumstances, but typically the courts do not provide the time or the context for a rapport that is conducive to such cross-cultural understanding.

Simon Ortiz, says that as participants in a story, "we must listen for more than just the sounds, listen for more than just the words and phrases; we must try to perceive the context, meaning, purpose" (1977, p. 9). Taking Aboriginal oral histories from the community to the courtroom is not an easy transition. It has been suggested that taking the judge to the Aboriginal community to participate in significant cultural events such as a potlatch might encourage cultural understanding (Culhane, personal interview, 1999). While this is no doubt a step in the right direction in trying to get the judge to think outside of his or her own culture, "even the most intimate story-telling situation does not ensure identical understandings of a story" (Sarris, 1993, p.40).

Brian Thom believes that "when the listener hears oral histories from a very different perspective than the tellers', these oral histories will not and cannot be meaningfully understood (Thom, 2001, p. 10). Rosaldo (1989) on the other hand, believes that it is possible to learn and understand those outside of one's own culture. He writes that:

> The translation of cultures requires one to try to understand other forms of life in their own terms. We should not impose our categories on other people's lives because they probably do not apply, at least not without serious revision. We can learn about other cultures only by reading, listening, or being there. The informal practices of everyday life make sense in their own context and on their own terms. Cultures are learned, not genetically encoded. (p. 26)

Bennett makes the point that intercultural sensitivity is not natural. Historically cross-cultural contact was often accompanied by bloodshed, oppression or genocide. There are few historical models for sensitive or empathic cross-cultural communication (1993, p. 21).

It takes a lot of unlearning to begin to understand culture and experiences outside our own. One oral historian, stated that it took a decade before she felt liberated from her own "filtering". What she heard as an interviewer was filtered through her own perceptions and personal infrastructure, and it took years before she was able to separate the narrative and interpretation from her internal one (Tydor Baumel, 2000, p. 20). Understanding oral tradition in a meaningful way involves understanding cultural context and taking the time necessary to learn empathic listening.

Before oral tradition is shared outside of the original community or context, there are also issues related to community participation, control and evaluation. Researchers have traditionally used methods such as external testing to compare oral history with other evidence such as written accounts or archeological data to access degrees of validity (von Gernet, 1996, p. 5.3.3; Hoffman, 1996, p. 89). Others use internal testing to evaluate an oral history in terms of its own self-consistency, which may involve cross-checking and collation of multiple versions.

Many communities are also in the process of creating new ways to validate and evaluate their own oral histories on their own cultural terms. For one community certain types of oral histories such as treaty stories can only be validated through a particular family line, as they are the keepers for those oral histories. For another community it may be a House or Clan group that validates the oral history. External testing and documentary triangulation may shed light on the "factual" occurrences of past events. Internal cross-referencing may reveal the "factual" truth of the community's perception of particular events (Borrows, 2001, p. 24-25).

Perhaps a fuller "understanding of First Nations law will only occur when people are more familiar with the myriad stories of a particular culture and the surrounding interpretations given to them by their people" (Borrows,1997, p. 455). Perhaps the various narratives could be viewed for their rich interwoven context which in turn constitutes the tapestry of Aboriginal oral traditions which involves the whole culture of the community.

Marlene Brant Castellano (1999) describes how the community both creates the oral history and validates it:

> That in an oral society the validation of particular perspectives on events is tested, modified and confirmed within the oral community, with people talking about what is being talked about. And then as the event recedes in time, what emerges from the discussion in the community becomes the oral history. If you don't have those functioning small communities

> who understand their possibility and their responsibility to talk about and to synthesize the communities perspective on that event, to sort of solidify the history. The written record then takes on, just because of being attached to a literate tradition of authenticity and authority, the written version becomes the real thing (Personal interview).It is important to acknowledge that interpretation can and should be contested by other

community members (Cruikshank, 1998, p. 41).

The contextual issues touch on questions and discussions occurring at the community level when Aboriginal oral tradition is compared or evaluated with written historical documents or listened to by those outside the culture. It is the community that can help define and control how that knowledge is shared and documented. Each community has its own cultural and historical traditions. While it would be impossible to come up with standardized rules for the use of Aboriginal oral tradition in cross-cultural settings, some of the areas identified, such as contextually based practices could be deepened as the community identifies their own specific cultural rules and strategies for collecting and sharing their oral traditions. Many communities are now grappling with how to adapt traditional methods of validation to contemporary issues and settings. For some communities their connection to oral tradition was broken as generations went away to residential schools. This process of identifying cultural practices and adapting to cross-cultural settings while maintaining community control is an on-going process that differs from community to community.

There was an acknowledgment that there needs to be considerable community preparation before the oral histories get into the courts (or any other cross-cultural setting). It should be the community that decides and validates what and how oral histories will be heard.

Some of the issues identified were: the fact that Aboriginal oral tradition is very much part of contextual cultural practices; the perceived difference, within the courts in particular, between "beliefs" and "facts"; that listening is a culturally based skill. Community validation and evaluation of oral tradition was also identified as a part of cultural practice.

"We need to find better ways of putting these stories together, of mediating between both their realities and their two imaginative traditions, and of understanding such stories and songs - truth tellings - not by hearing them in isolation but by seeing where they meet each other, and the world" (Chamberlin, 1996, p. 32).

When I listen to Cree storyteller Louis Bird tell stories, I am swept into his world along the coast of Hudson and James Bay, to a time before the arrival of guns and Europeans, when survival was intricately linked to knowledge of animals, plants, weather, and the land. Whatever the type of story, whether it is a factual account of a skirmish with another Aboriginal group or a story involving characters with supernatural powers, my world opens up just a little more.

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Building the Barricades: A Potential Role for Adult Literacy Educators in Popular Education and Social Movements

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Abstract: In this paper I explore a potential role for adult literacy educators in creating and supporting social change. I argue that we can help support marginalised groups to develop the organisational capital needed as they take more control over their lives.

On some level we are all literacy educators. Whether we literally teach reading and writing to educationally marginalized adults or teach in university graduate programs the same concern is central in our work—how do we find a way to support learners as they use their newly acquired cultural knowledge to improve their lives? There are several models available to us, such as Freire's (1972) work, but Brazil certainly seems a long way from downtown Toronto or small town Texas. The question I have been reflecting on for several years is how we can usefully and credibly theorise and describe a role for adult literacy educators in empowering learners. Here I present one perspective, and argue that our primary contribution can be assisting marginalised groups to develop the organisational capital that makes social change possible.

Literacy: Freedom or Function?

One of the most important insights into what it means to be literate is that attaining and maintaining literacy does not lead directly to any particular attitudinal outcome. In other words reading, writing, numeracy, or any other form of semiotic engagement does not *by itself* lead to people becoming more reflective, entrepreneurial, compliant, or any other outcome. The weight of evidence suggests the context and process of learning is far more likely to support the development of critical insights than isolated competence in decoding or creating text. It takes great care to know what we are doing as literacy educators in terms of the effects on learners—it is not enough to assume the existence of links between text use and social or personal change. Literacy has historically functioned as a carrier for many different signals, and continues to do so. The two specific signals I will touch on here are the moral and the economic.

Among the most pervasive links in the history of literacy is that between reading and religion. There is some evidence that reading was an essential ability for both lay and clerics as far back as Anglo-Saxon England (Kelly, 1992), and the last several hundred years offer many well documented examples (Graff, 1995). The moral dimension of literacy suggested by the link to religion has emerged in other spheres. Interestingly, people interested in maintaining the status quo and those interested in social change have both emphasised the moral worth of literacy. A good example of the chameleon like moral dimension of literacy is the matter of "really useful knowledge" (Johnson, 1993). During the late 18th and early 19th centuries one of the most active adult education institutions in England was the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," a liberal endeavour to educate the working classes about vocational and civil matters. Radicals responded with the promise to disseminate "really useful knowledge" intended to demonstrate the injustice of social structures. Both sides of this debate published a wide variety of reading materials supporting the expansion of literacy among working people, and so were contributing to spreading the "skills" of reading (and to some extent, writing), but the moral implications they were promoting were quite different. The claim that literacy has a moral impact seems to be a historical constant, with only its interpretation varying by period and perspective.

The debate about what constituted really useful knowledge also contained within it an economic argument. Liberals linked increased productivity and income to enhanced literacy abilities and their application to learning. The Radicals expected widespread literacy to lead to a type of economic empowerment as the working classes rose up against the capitalists. The evidence seems to suggest that both side were incorrect in their assumptions. As Graff argues, economic development from the Industrial Revolution onwards "owed relatively and perhaps surprisingly little to popular literacy abilities or schooling" (1995, p.19). There were many more important factors, the most significant educational influence being the educational level of key people rather than the population as a whole. It is also worth noting that the US, UK, and Canada have all had high levels of literacy for about 150 years and the capitalists are not yet overthrown.

Nonetheless, there continues to be strong interest in the moral and economic implications of literacy, which manifest most clearly in the arguments about whether literacy is a tool for freedom or a functional skill. The Freirian (1972) notion of literacy as a way to overcome oppression and become more fully human has become extremely influential in the educational community, albeit in a diluted form. It has gained a great deal of credibility from widespread interest in, and acceptance of, constructivist pedagogy. The common elements include an emphasis on experience, active participation of learners, and meaning as the outcome of literacy practices. Against this development are ranked dozens of government reports detailing the economic impact of population literacy levels, usually expressed in negative terms. For example, a recent survey of international adult literacy abilities has divided the population of 22 countries into five levels of literacy ability—a remarkable endeavour—but the results are usually interpreted along strongly economist and functional lines. "The discourse of human resource development now dominates the literacy agenda with managerial, technicist, and corporate notions" (Crowther, Hamilton, & Tett, 2001, p.31). History suggests both the claims to freedom and those to function are flawed.

Acceptance of the principle that literacy education for adults is a partial and contextually dependent form of provision raises a number of questions, particularly for literacy educators interested in social change. The challenge is to find a way to ground their practice despite the loss of strong claims to freedom and social transformation. How can we make literacy powerful, and support its use in the service of social justice? A second issue is the whole idea of supporting others in their struggles for social change. Adult basic education fosters social change to the extent that people get to do things for themselves, yet educators have spent many years learning and thinking about the issues of literacy. How do we support groups of which we educators are generally not members to learn and create social change, and should we even be there at all? I believe literacy educators do have a responsibility to be involved in the efforts of excluded groups to gain representation, but not as respected sources of specialised knowledge. I see the contribution of educators as facilitators of an educational process led by, and responsive to the interests of, social groups engaged in the struggle for justice. Rather than experts, educators become co-creators of opportunities for marginalised groups to exercise participation and prepare for effective involvement in social affairs.

Creating organisational capital

In contemplating this role it is critical to realise that education on its own does not create social change, but responds to the degree and type of movement in society as a whole. As Heaney points out: "Essential to successful action is the presence of a dynamic political apparatus—a collective, a union, a people's organisation through which collective energy can be collected and focused" (1992, p.6). In essence, education follows organisation. We can understand more about the interaction of these two elements by considering the way change occurs in an advanced capitalist economy such as the USA. Power, for the purposes of this discussion, will be considered as the ability to bring about change—or resist it. The dominant groups of capitalist society have a great deal of power due to their control of economic and cultural resources, but it is not unassailable. Other groups can gain power and use it to change the structures of society, as the Civil Rights movement did. Yet they did not do this through domination of economic and cultural resources, but through the creation of what, following Korpi (1978), I call organisational capital.

Korpi's interest lies in the achievements of working class people and movements in Sweden throughout the 20th century. He considered various forms of capital as resources for the exercise of power in a market economy, including organisational capital arising from collective action. He points out that such power resources are far harder to mobilise than those based on economic capital or control of the means of production, and are generally limited to defensive moves or attempts to limit the incursions of economic capital. Economic capital remains privileged, but certain social conditions enhance the value of organisational capital. In the case of organised labour in Sweden, high employment, social security systems designed to increase the mobility of workers, and publicly controlled pension funds have helped to increase the workers' power resources. His analysis further suggests that organisational capital can arise from inclusive action, where sheer weight of numbers provides political power, or from exclusive action, where specialists can influence policy by threatening to withdraw their particular abilities from the processes of production. I believe this approach to social change can contribute to understanding the role of literacy educators in education for change.

Organisation occurs when groups of people become aware of the oppressive nature of the circumstances they share. The first aspect of raising awareness depends on the development of forms of knowledge that recognise and value the experiences of the oppressed. The second is a cultural context supporting the possibility of change. Viewing culture as a selection of strategies available for application in any particular situation (Swidler, 1986), the key consideration is that there are viable actions open to members of the oppressed group when they become aware of their oppression. If there is no answer to the question "what can we do about it?" oppressive circumstances will perpetuate themselves through the justified apathy and acceptance of the oppressed. Only where there are options to be exercised and strategies to be taken up can resistance, and eventually social change, occur. Understanding and action are co-implicated in the formation of social movements.

Literacy educators can arrange their program to bring together knowledge of the present circumstances and the possibility of change. Education is a cultural act (Giroux, 1992), reflecting and reforming the values and possibilities open to those participating. Focussing on organisational capital as the outcome of the educational process means ascending from the abstractions of grammar to the concrete structures of social life. Rather than aiming for a vague vision of a new society, developing organisational capital requires the collaborative definition of both objectives and the process to attain them. Some examples of this include literacy classes which address grant finding and application writing, publicity, recruitment, and history building within social movements.

The last of these is a particularly interesting activity. One of the forces tending to resist social change is the belief that things have always been this way, and that nothing can be done. There is double ahistoricism—the struggles for change are not set within a broader social context, and the organisation tends to forget its own past. Literacy educators can help to create the organisational capital that places the actions of one group within a network of similar groups and that remembers successes while learning from mistakes. One great example of this effort is the work of Tom Heaney and Universidad Popular over the last thirty years. UP has helped to strengthen the Hispanic community in Chicago's Humboldt Park through education including English as a Second Language, literacy and numeracy, and youth groups. Heaney's role has been as a founding figure, historian, grant writer, board member, and face to face activist. As an academic and literacy educator, he has striven to make the financial and cultural resources of educational organisations open to those traditionally excluded.

We are in a period when social movements appear to be less effective than at other times, and it is easy to argue that progress has stopped. However, progressive change continues to accrue, and new social movements are springing up constantly. Recent protests at World Trade Organisation meetings in Seattle and Washington have brought together people around issues ranging from genetically modified organisms to working conditions. Concerns are expressed about economic issues such as child or sweatshop labour, or the exploitation of women in the sex trade. The large and powerful social movements of the late 20th century seem to have opened the door for others to follow, and even in a period with relatively slow movement towards social justice the rumblings of revolution persist. Literacy educators, and educators generally, have a responsibility to help the rumblings rise to a clamour.

Highlander: The movement

Social movements and associated popular education endeavours have had a significant influence on the social fabric of the Western world. In North America the most successful in recent years have been feminist movements' efforts to get both sexism and women's issues into public discussion, and the Civil Rights movement, centrally concerned with the living conditions of African-Americans. The Gay Rights movement has also made slow but steady progress in the face of staunch opposition from the Christian Right. These movements have brought about major changes in policy and practice, including the introduction of anti-discriminatory legislation in employment, increased minority presence in legislative bodies, and less stereotyped media representation. Popular education, including literacy, has been a significant strategy in the creation of awareness, support, and pressure for change at local and national level.

It is helpful to consider one example of popular education in some detail, and there is no better candidate than the Highlander Folk School of Tennessee. Highlander is one of the longest lived and most active examples of popular education for social change in the world, and has supported a number of social movements. The school, originally situated in a borrowed house, was established by Myles Horton in 1932. Horton was born in rural Tennessee and grew up with a strong sense of social justice—and how far the United States was from that ideal. As a young man

Horton spent a great deal of time in the North, including Union Theological Seminary in Chicago, and also travelled to Denmark to learn about folk high schools. His critical approach to US society appears to have been driven by a background of poverty, involvement with unions, and Christian socialism (Horton, 1990).

Over the last 70 years the school has played a critical role in two major social movements, the first of which was the labour movement of the 1930s. The South has never been receptive to organising activity, and Highlander's involvement on the side of labour led to death threats and violence, including one armed stand-off between Horton and three men sent to shoot him. The second movement was yet more controversial. Highlander became involved in literacy education for African-Americans in the mid-1930s, and by the 60s the school was central to the Civil Rights Movement. Participants included Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks, who helped to end legal racial segregation in the South by refusing to move from the "White Only" section of a public bus in Selma, Alabama (Horton, 1990). Though the school has played a quieter role in US affairs since the late 60s, it remains extremely influential, and several adult education graduate programs in the United States offer students a chance to travel thousands of miles to visit Highlander.

One of the most striking aspects of Highlander is the similarity between the methods advocated by Horton and the writing of Paulo Freire (1972). Both emphasise the value of the experiences accumulated by oppressed people, and see reclaiming this experience as a central element of education for social change. Staff at Highlander spend a great deal of time interacting informally with communities, identifying both critical issues and local leaders with the potential to address them. An important segment of the Highlander philosophy is the belief that educators do not have to know the answers (Heaney, 1992). "The best teachers of poor and working people are the people themselves. They are the experts on their own experiences and problems" (Horton, 1990, p.152).

For educators committed to social change, whether lodged in adult literacy or otherwise, Highlander remains a strong example of what is possible with courage and determined engagement. The core of their activities has always been the development of organisational capital in marginalised groups. Literacy education at Highlander started as a means to help individuals obtain voting rights, but was always delivered through a collective process emphasising questions around citizenship (Horton & Freire, 1990). Not only did this enrich the education around matters of social change, it also provided a focus for learning. As Horton comments, marginalised people know that skills without structural change do little good. Providing the language and concepts for imagining what that social change can look like in combination with the concrete organisational experience of creating, maintaining, or joining a movement is a powerful support for people who want to make a difference.

Closing Thoughts

Literacy educators interested in social change have a lot of work to do. The dominance of instrumental and vocational understandings of literacy makes it challenging to consider building links to movements for social change. Nonetheless, the literacy education process has two areas which can help support social change initiatives. The first is raising awareness of language and concepts with an oppositional focus—providing the linguistic and cognitive tools to build understanding of oppression. The second is providing the concrete underpinnings of such movements—the texts and other cultural artefacts representing their aims and aspirations. When these come together they provide strong support for the organisation of movements. Language and artefact are mutually reinforcing and critical resources for the creation of strategies for social change.

Some may balk at the notion of explicitly political adult literacy education, but it is clear that there is no such thing as neutrality. In the United States the emphasis on deficit constructions of literacy learners and the implication that they are pulling down society (both morally and economically) has become the norm in policy. As Horton says "neutrality is just following the crowd" (Horton & Freire, 1990, p.102), and to go along with these policies is to provide implicit consent. The concept of organisational capital provides us with guidance as we begin to work with marginalised groups in the slow job of building the barricades against the forces that would strip literacy education of its meaning and its consequence.

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The Relationship between Espoused and Enacted Beliefs about Teaching Adults: A Photo-Elicitation Perspective

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Abstract: The use of the photo-elicitation technique is discussed as a means of studying the complex relationship between what teachers say they and what they actually do. Several strengths of the method and areas for concern are explored.

Beliefs play a significant role in determining how we perceive, interpret, and organize information (Dewey, 1933; Schommer, 1990), representing reality and serving as a basis for action in the classroom (Pajares, 1992; Richardson, 1996). However, we have much to learn about teaching beliefs (Taylor, 1999), especially their relationship with what is actually done in the classroom. (Pratt, 1998, Richardson & Hamilton, 1994). Within the areas of reading/literacy and mathematics, for example, this relationship has received particular attention (K. E. Johnston, 1992; Fang, 1996; Richardson & Hamilton, 1994). Research supports the "notion that teachers do posses theoretical beliefs towards reading and that such beliefs tend to shape the nature of their instructional practices" (Fang, 1996, p. 52). Other studies, however, suggest that the challenges of classroom teaching often constrain the teacher's ability to provide instruction that are congruent with their beliefs (Davis, Konopak & Readence, 1993). Despite teachers' espoused beliefs, studies suggest that teachers' actions are significantly influenced by classroom contexts.

Much of the problem in understanding this relationship resides in the various methodologies used to explore this phenomenon. Richardson and Hamilton (1994) argue measurement and design issues might account for part of the disagreements observed. Through the use of an anthropological belief interview method and open-ended conversations using the teacher's language, they suggest that private beliefs about teaching are elicited which prove to be consistent with actions. Some studies have also been done which use multiple observations and video recordings (e.g, Richardson & Hamilton, 1994; K. E. Johnston, 1992), in which videotaped segments of teacher practice is then compared to their espoused beliefs. However, despite these advancements in design, a number of methodological problems still remain in exploring the relationship between espoused and enacted beliefs. Some teachers do not reflect deeply about their practice and may not be verbally explicit about their work. Identifying and describing the underlying assumptions that shape their practice can be quite challenging. In addition, beliefs generally operate on a subconscious level. Beliefs are not easily "articulated without some assistance" (S. Johnston, 1992, p. 125), making it difficult to identity and describe them deeply. Finally, observations or video recordings of teachers in practice are often interpreted and analyzed from the perspective of the researcher. The researcher observes the teacher and sees if her actions match his or her espoused beliefs. But teachers' actions could be misinterpreted, along with their associated beliefs. It is just as likely that the teacher is making-meaning of an event in the classroom differently than the researcher's interpretation and therefore their actions are reflective of different beliefs about teaching.

Photo-elicitation or photo interviewing is a promising approach to these methodological concerns. Photo-elicitation is the use of photography as a medium for exploration into the personal and subjective experience (Tucker & Dempsey, 1991; Norman, 1991). It stimulates the interview process with the expressed intent to explore the "participants values, beliefs, attitudes, and meanings and in order to trigger memories..." about their teaching experience (Prosser, 1998, p. 124). Moreover, photographs used in interviewing

> *Ask their own questions* which often yield unpredictable answers. The imagery dredges the consciousness (and subconsciousness) of the informant and in an exploratory fashion reveals significance triggered by the photographic subject matter. The content of the imagery which photographically is an *outside* view is used projectively with informant to give us an *inside* view of our research territory. (Collier, 1979, p. 274, original emphasis)

Photography and language are interdependent mediums for expression that have the potential to assist each other in making meaning of an experience. According to Weade and Ernst (1990),

> When descriptions and interpretations are generated for what is seen, language provides a 'frame' for the visual experience. Language, then provides ways of assigning meaning to what we encounter visually, and it enables us to extend and enhance our interpretations of what we see. (p. 133)

When used during an interview, photographs provide a frame for language, a place in which to focus the meaning-making process, and a catalyst that can extend and enhance the interpretation of what the participants' believe about the subject under study. As Collier (2001) suggests, "The richest returns from photo-elicitation can often have little connection to the details of the images, which serve only to release vivid memories, feelings, insight, thoughts and memories" (p. 46). When photography is used in settings where there can be multiple perspectives of an event, they spontaneously invite and encourage open expression and rapport that a verbal interview alone could not as easily accomplish.

Used often in other fields such as sociology and anthropology, the method, however, has received little attention in the field of education. We argue that photo-elicitation provides a means to better understand the relationship between espoused and enacted beliefs. In this particular study, it also offers a collaborative approach to inquiry. Instead of the researcher interpreting a video observation of a teaching episode and looking for consistency with espoused teaching beliefs, a video recording of the teaching experience is used to stimulate the interview process with participant. This approach provides a space for both the researcher and the participant together to make meaning of the teaching episode. In this paper, we discuss and explore photo-elicitation interviewing technique in the study of beliefs among teachers of adults.

Description of the Methodological Approach

The methodological design most appropriate for understanding the application of the photo-elicitation interviewing technique is an interpretive qualitative approach (Merriam, 1998). A qualitative approach that incorporates videotape recording allows for a descriptive understanding of the participants' beliefs about teaching adults and how they were enacted in practice. To explore the application of the photo-elicitation technique in this manner, eleven teachers of adults who taught in computer-mediated settings with similar students were purposively selected. Participating teachers included trainers, occupational educators, software instructor, and a librarian. Each participant was interviewed twice, once before and again after a videoed observation of his or her teaching. The first semi-structured interview, about 60 minutes in length, focused on espoused beliefs about teaching. After the initial interview, a video recording of one teaching session of each participant, ranging from 45 minutes to more than three hours in length, was completed. The second interview used the video recording of the participant's teaching episode as a prompt. Recorded segments were played back during the interview and, as the video played, teachers were asked open-ended questions about the events being observed. The intent here was to further elicit teachers' descriptions, interpretations, and underlying assumptions of their actions. Transcriptions of both interviews and observation data were analyzed using a constant comparative method (Strauss, 1998) and findings were then organized into categories and themes using a graphic organizer to display dominant themes. To enhance trustworthiness of the findings, multiple data sources were used and multiple researchers came together to jointly analyze the data.

The Relationship between Espoused and Enacted Beliefs

To ground our analysis of the photo-elicitation method, we provide a couple examples of findings derived through this study. The findings reveal a high degree of consistency between espoused and enacted beliefs, particularly among participants' core beliefs. Core beliefs are teaching beliefs that are central to an individual's practice, usually remaining constant across contexts. For example, Joan, a computer instructor, espoused a core belief that reflected a student-centered practice - making the needs and interest of students primary in the classroom. For example, she strongly believed it important to ensure that students feel comfortable and safe when using a computer. In her first interview, she described her primary goal as an educator: "To decrease intimidation with technology…making people comfortable with it is usually the very first thing I need to do." In her second interview, involving the photo-elicitation, she described her actions in the classroom: "I just want them to be comfortable with what they're doing, and the more comfortable they are with it, the more they're apt to not get so tense when they make a mistake." This core belief about students' feelings in the classroom is so central to Joan's practice that, even when she experiences an unforeseen circumstance (a change in context), her core belief shapes her response, placing the feelings of the student first. In this particular case, her computer overhead projector failed and she describes her actions and the reasons behind them. She states "there was no happy medium, so you just have to roll with it, so they [students] don't get frustrated." In a second example Ernie, who is librarian, offers a contrasting view that reflects a more teacher-centered orientation. He describes his approach to teaching in the first interview: "I am facing a group of students in a traditional classroom environment…where you have students in rows of desks and chairs…[and] where the teacher is the leader commanding the students. In the second interview when describing the reason behind his classroom arrangement, he states: "It shows that I'm in charge, and for the student, I think it sets a tone. It's a legacy arrangement, if you will, [students] are more passive and I'm more the active."

Lessons Learned about the Use of the Photo-Elicitation Technique

In the remaining discussion, we will focus on what we have learned about the use of the photo-elicitation technique in the study of teacher beliefs. We first discuss several advantages of this method and then several significant issues.

The photo-elicitation technique has the potential to help make explicit what teachers hold true about their teaching practice. For example, Anita, a CAD instructor, espoused a strong belief in the overall aim of her teaching as fostering problem-solving skills and abilities among her learners. Observations by the researcher revealed that Anita helped learners walk through problems that they encountered in attempting to do their drawings. However, the observation, also suggested some subtle deepening or complexities of the beliefs she described in the interviews. For example, how she described problem solving in the interviews conjured up in the researcher's mind one particular image of activity. Watching what she actually did, however, seemed less consistent with the image derived from her description. The photo-elicitation technique allows the teacher, as she watches and describes her interactions with learners on video, to more fully develop the image in her own words. This approach avoids introducing the researcher's rendering and interpretation of her actions into the follow-up interview. If the video was not available, the researcher would have to describe to the teacher what he or she thought she was doing, and then ask her to relate it with what she described in the interview. In other words, the researcher's verbal picture of her doing is mediating the reflective process. The photo-elicitation process allows her to directly observe her actions, unencumbered by the researcher's words or images.

Therefore, beliefs derived simply from biographical interview provide us with a kind of "script" of the teacher's thought processes as they relate to classroom actions. At one level, this script might appear to be more or less consistent with what we observe. Nevertheless, until we are able to allow the teachers themselves to describe what it is they were doing and why, this notion of whether beliefs and actions are consistent or inconsistent may remain shrouded in uncertainty and ambiguity. In essence, the photo-elicitation technique provides a "mutual visual context" that can be seen by both the researcher and the participant when making meaning of the participant's beliefs about teaching adults. This visual context allows for a shared a reference point that not only stimulates a deeper dialogue about the participant's subjective view of teaching, but also provides points of interest that both the researcher and the participant can probe for greater clarity.

The use of photo-elicitation can also serve as a tool to promote reflective learning on the part of the teacher (McDonald & Krause, 1995). The video not only helped the researcher probe for implicit thoughts about teaching, but also offered a window for the participant to reflect on their teaching practice. For example, during the second interview with Bill, a computer software instructor, the researcher played a video segment of Bill's teaching students how to make banners in a word processing software. Bill observed,

> They made different things and they played with different parts a little bit, but they really didn't sit down and say here's my Halloween banner or whatever. When I reflect on it afterwards, if I was to do something over with the class, what I would have done is try to do less talking and let them to more of the learning.

In addition, only the teacher knows most clearly what resonates with him or her in the video, while for the researcher it is often a matter of guesswork. Therefore, engaging in a collaboratively making meaning process of the video segments increases the likelihood for reflective moments to emerge, like the example illustrated by Bill.

Video recording also offers multiple sites of investigation in the photo-elicitation process. Often the recording will capture events, activities, and actions of the teacher that both the researcher and the teacher were unaware of during the original classroom observation. Furthermore, the recording is temporal in nature, covering a period of time in the classroom, not a single moment. This evolving process has the potential to reveal patterns of behavior and habitual responses by the teacher. For example, there were multiple situations where Joan's core belief of student-centeredness manifested itself in the classroom, which provided greater clarity and description of the core belief. Furthermore, this ongoing view of the teacher's actions can help create a "Gestalt" of the teaching practice, where not only the individual actions within video recording can be explored, but also the relationship between the actions. Using the video recording to probe for clarification results in a richer understanding about the participants' beliefs about teaching adults.

Despite the strengths that emerged from using the photo-elicitation technique, we observed several unintended consequences. The video camera is a potentially intrusive device within the learning setting, creating anxiety and stress for the teacher being observed and recorded. As the teachers immersed themselves in their teaching, however, this effect was less evident and they often forgot about the camera and the observer. For a few interviewees, the experience seemed somewhat uncomfortable and anxiety provoking. For example, it was quite clear that Anita was very self-conscious through much of the feedback process. She often just glanced at the segment selected and then turned her eyes away from the video monitor, looking to the floor or off to the side as she talked and the video continued to run. While not objecting, she seemed clearly uncomfortable with the process. Some of the others did not display such marked discomfort over the process, but they exhibited a kind of curiosity about the projection that might have been somewhat distracting to the purpose at hand. For example, one could obsess about how one looks on camera.

There is also the potential for this process to evoke defensive explanations for what is observed that have little to with deeply felt beliefs or values. In a sense, they might simply provide justification for what they observe, rather than offering insight into their core beliefs. If the video suggests disconnects with what they described earlier, the teachers may want to justify rather than acknowledge the disconnect. There is a seductive aspect to this method, where we might assume that interpretation of the visual representation of reality is something easily accomplished and mutually understood. However, as mentioned in the previous example involving Anita and her understanding of problem solving, it was quite apparent that both the researcher and teacher had different interpretations of what was happening in the video. Therefore, it is imperative that the researcher, stay vigilant in not making conclusions too quickly about what is happening in the video. How an interview is conducted using a photo-elicitation and what the data means needs to be given considerable thought.

Implications

Our use of the photo-elicitation technique in the study of teacher beliefs suggests that it is a potentially powerful method for developing a deeper understanding of the relationship of a teacher's espoused beliefs to actions taken within the learning setting. It is an underused technique within the study of teachers of adults that should be more widely incorporated into such research studies. This method provides a means of fostering a more reflective and dialectical stance among teachers toward what they believe about teaching and what they do as teachers. Furthermore, this technique provides a framework for approaching the study of teaching more collaboratively, in which the meaning of what is happening within a classroom is jointly constructed by the researcher, teacher, and perhaps even the learners. While we did not incorporate learner review of the videotaped segments, such an approach seems promising. There are, however, several concerns arising from the use of this technique, which caution us to proceed carefully with the method.

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Understanding the Zone of Proximal Development in Adult Literacy Learning

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Abstract: The purpose of this qualitative case study was to investigate how adult learners in formal literacy classroom programs improve their reading and writing skills through scaffolding and guided participation. An early organizing framework emerged that depicts four major types of collaborative practices used among peers as they move towards the Zone of Proximal Development.

It has been argued that literacy is a social cultural process where one becomes literate within a social context as an extension of relationships with other people (Kirshner & Whitson, 1997). Studies from early literacy development such as the work of Neuman and Roskos (1997) suggest that literacy settings include not only physical surroundings but human relationships that determine when, how often and in which situations learners use the cultural tools of literacy. As Christie and Stone (1999) point out higher order cognitive functioning, such as reading develops in a collaborative social context. To date, there is a paucity of empirical evidence that looks at the relationship between adult literacy learners and their classroom peers in the acquisition of reading and writing skills. The research questions of this study were (1) how does scaffolding and guided participation occur in an adult literacy classroom? (2) what teaching methods and learning materials are best suited to support scaffolding and guided participation among adult literacy learners?

Conceptual Context

The concept of Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) is central to Vygotsky's position that learning moves from an initial form of guided learning to later independent learning (1978). He proposed that there are two developmental levels. The first he termed actual development and defined it as "the level of development of a child's mental function determined by independent problem solving" (p. 86). The second level of potential development was defined as "that which a child can achieve if given the benefit of support during the task. It is the ability to solve problems under the guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). Vygotsky suggested that there is always a difference between these two forms of development and that this gap is an indicator of the functions that have not yet matured but are in the process of maturation. It is this Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) that is critical for learning and instruction. To further explore the dynamics of the ZPD, Bruner (1986) devised the concept of scaffolding to explain how learning is fostered and how teachers define their role in it. For the purpose of this study scaffolding was defined as the behavior of any person or persons which is designed to help a student engage in some aspect of learning beyond his or her actual level of development (Cairney, 1995).

Rogoff's concept of guided participation, which is based on a number of social psychological theories, was also used as part of the conceptual context for this study. Although her work like the work of Vygotsky has primarily focussed on children, it has yet to be tested in an adult literacy environment. This study attempted to break new ground by using these two concepts widely tested in pedagogy and now proposed in andragogy. Rogoff (1990) uses the metaphor of "apprenticeship" to describe how children learn. She suggests that children are apprentices in thinking, active in their efforts to learn from observing and participating with peers and more skilled members of their society (p. 17). The concept of guided participation helps explain how Vygotsky's views on learning can be put into practice in classrooms. These concepts suggest that both guidance and participation in culturally valued activities are essential to children's apprenticeship in thinking. Guidance may be tacit or explicit and participation may vary in the extent to which children or caregivers are responsible for its arrangement.

Methodology

A qualitative, case study approach was used to gather and analyze data. Using a multimethod research design, data was collected from four adult literacy classrooms in a local Literacy Basic Skills Program. This school board program provides upgrading in reading, writing, and numeracy to over 200 adults in various locations of the Ottawa-Carleton area of Eastern Ontario. Data collection commenced with a participant observation session for each literacy classroom using an observation checklist. This information helped to purposely select 2-3 literacy learners from each classroom for the in-depth interview process. Field notes from the observations also directed the development of a semi-structured interview schedule for the learners. A total of nine learners were purposefully selected for the study. Four program instructors who favoured a collaborative teaching style were also interviewed using a semi-structured schedule. A focus group of the learners who participated in the interviews was conducted to further elaborate on the initial analysis. An open-ended interview schedule was developed for this phase of the data collection. Documents such as the literacy curriculum and departmental and ministry program policies were collected and reviewed to generate a more complete account of any influences affecting the collaborative literacy practices. Using a multitude of data collection techniques from a variety of sources allowed for triangulation.

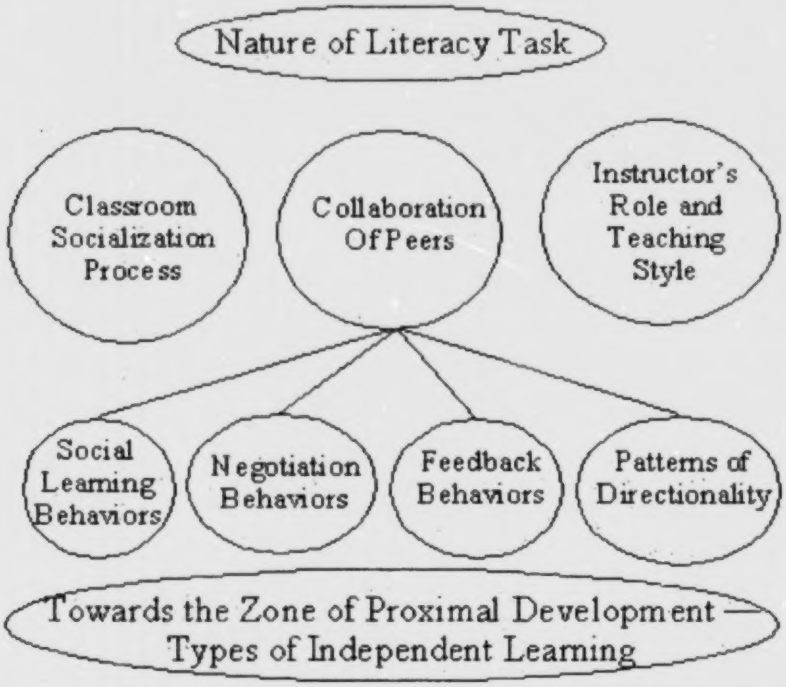
Data analysis was continuous. Field notes taken during the observation period were used to make decisions on the structure and focus of the different phases of interviewing. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. Content analysis using a constant comparative technique was used to determine the different roles and learning behaviours in a collaborative classroom. Matrices were developed and used to systematically analyse data in the transcripts and narratives and to refine categories (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992).

Interpretation

An Organizing Framework for Collaboration

Based on the analysis from four data sources, an early organizing framework emerged which depicts the key components of an adult literacy classroom where peer collaboration occurs. As can be seen in Figure 1, the driving force behind collaboration lies in the types of literacy tasks that learners undertake in a classroom. Four major literacy tasks surfaced in this study: reading which includes vocabulary development and spelling; mathematics with a focus on the basic numeracy operations; computer skills which encompass direct instructional skills and the use of the computer as a learning aid and problem-solving skills related to every-day living experiences.

Figure 1: Peer Collaboration in a Literacy Classroom


Nature of Literacy Task
Classroom Socialization Process
Collaboration Of Peers
Instructor's Role and Teaching Style
Social Learning Behaviors
Negotiation Behaviors
Feedback Behaviors
Patterns of Directionality
Towards the Zone of Proximal Development — Types of Independent Learning

A cornerstone in the framework is called the Classroom Socialization Process and entails how the physical set-up of the environment and learning materials allow certain interactions to happen. These interactions set the stage for the collaboration of peers. Circular and long tables were key to the physical arrangements in the rooms, whether it be a more formal classroom or a more community oriented room. This allowed a certain ease for important connections and contacts to be made that supported the learning both in and outside of the program. Table membership was prompted by search for sameness. Learners often self-selected their place at the table and this choice was influenced by culture, comfort level, abilities, age and gender.

Threaded through a classroom with collaborative practices is the leadership role of the instructor. This role encompasses particular types of facilitation skills and is reflective of an enabling teaching style. It is characterized by a student-centred approach to learning. Instructors in this study used directive skills during the initiation of the learner into the classroom but soon moved into an encouraging posture as collaboration started to take shape. Key to fostering collaboration was the instructor's ability to assess each learner's reservoir of life experience. This type of assessment helped identify the more capable skill sets of each learner.

The Collaborative Practices

Four major components emerged as key collaborative practices among literacy learners: social learning behaviors, negotiation behaviors, feedback behaviors, and patterns of directionality. These four types of behaviors were directly influenced by the nature of the literacy task. For the category social learning behaviors, in some cases the instructor or a more capable peer used an inviting behavior to initiate the collaborative process for reading and numeracy tasks. This prompted the practice of assisting and tutoring behaviors. In these instances, learners made attempts to emulate aspects of the tutorial style used by the classroom instructor. For computer literacy tasks, the behaviors of directing and modeling were more common in peer interactions.

A second component was negotiation behaviors. The use of compromise among peers as a negotiation behavior was often associated with the literacy tasks of vocabulary development, reading and numeracy work. The search for consensus among table mates for a correct response was also a frequent happening. For computer tasks, the use of directives was often practiced by the more capable learner. Feedback behavior was a third component. The use of feedback behaviors among learners can be best described as a fluid classroom process where "someone was always going somewhere to obtain some piece of information." Seeking information from table mates was a key feedback behavior across all literacy tasks. For numeracy tasks, correcting from others and gathering additional information were used whereas self-correcting usually occurred with the more capable learners. Directionality patterns in the learning interactions happened from the more capable to the less capable peer in most cases. Early in the classroom socialization process, learners became very aware of each other's knowledge and skill level and the instructor's use of this individual learner expertise. Unidimentional patterns of peer support to same peer were practised occasionally.

The end point of the organizing framework relates to the actual Zone of Proximal Development in which the types of independent learning skills were used inside or outside of the classroom. Inside the classroom culture, there was a strong tendency for learners to demonstrate an ability to problem solve independently across literacy tasks. Approaching the instructor for help was sometimes seen as an admission that the student had failed to problem solve and a sign of dependence. Outside the classroom learning transfer occurred in two milieus — at home and at the workplace. For example, one learner demonstrated independent learning by being able to now read his own mail while another was able to place a classified advertisement in the newspaper. At the workplace, attention to safety issues occurred when one learner was able to write and post "Out of Order" on a machine.

Discussion

This study has attempted to explore how adult literacy learners act as scaffold builders with other peers in a formal classroom environment. The early organizing framework portrays the different roles and learning behaviors that occur in a classroom that encourages guided participation. In the full manuscript for the study the discussion focusses on how the results contribute to the development of a theory of social literacy and ways to strengthen the theoretical foundations of professional development programs for literacy educators. Here in this proceedings, however, one main argument is presented which focuses on a practical implication of the study — the teacher's role in the collaborative classroom.

As a result of the document analysis which reviewed literacy curriculum, and departmental and ministry program policies, it appears that training programs such as the Literacy Basic Skills program are guided by specific skill sets from a learning outcomes matrix that leads to learners becoming self-directed. If this is an important focus of programs, then the question is raised as to what role can the instructor play in fostering the development of self-directedness. In this investigation, instructors encouraged collaborative literacy practices in their classrooms. This resulted in learners moving towards the Zone of Proximal Development and it is here that independent learning skills are used. When students in the larger literacy class encountered a literacy problem that they could not solve independently, they sought the instructor's help only after their own attempts to solve the problem had not succeeded. Learners also believed that since the instructor was often busy with others, it was much quicker and more convenient to seek assistance from a student sitting at their table. Optimally, they wanted to learn to solve problems on their own, but when this wasn't possible, they preferred to get assistance from another learner before going to the teacher. Although some learners felt more vulnerable and nervous approaching another peer, they preferred this practice and even learned this new behavior of seeking assistance from a student. This was seen as an important step in working through the literacy problem while still maintaining a sense of independence. Approaching the instructor was as admission that the student had failed to problem solve and a sign of dependence. Viewed in this light, an instructor who encourages collaboration among peers sets the stage for learner self-direction which manifests itself somewhere in the Zone of Proximal Development

The results of this study also have policy implications for adult literacy participation and learning in a knowledge-based economy and society. As Canada undergoes transformation in which knowledge and information are the cornerstones for social and economic activity, the capacity to learn and accumulate skills becomes an imperative for adults especially for those with low literacy skills. However, a significant portion of the adult population do not possess the basic literacy skills to meet the requirements of many low skill jobs and the means to sustain reasonable living standards. By understanding how to improve literacy classroom practices through collaborative learning strategies, it is possible to develop programs for adult learners that will decrease the risk of long-term exclusion in education and training.

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An Examination of Intra-secondary School Conflicts in Complex Emergencies: the Case of Sierra Leone

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Abstract: This paper reports the findings of a study which was designed to describe how selected teachers and students in secondary schools in urban Sierra Leone perceive and manage interpersonal conflicts during complex emergencies, with a view to identifying the challenges for building a culture of peace and for further research.

Introduction

What significance does the study of intra-secondary school conflicts have for adult education in Africa? Corwin (1996) argues that there is need to analyze conflicts in the public schools in order to increase our capacity to understand the teaching profession and the challenges it faces. According to Obassanjo (1991) the greatest challenge facing policy makers in African countries in the 21st Century is to determine the prerequisite for sustainable peace, political and economic stability, and justice in their respective societies. Against this background, it is important that African scholars involved in conflict and peace research intensify the search for indigenous African understandings of the meaning of interpersonal conflicts, their root causes and constructive methods of dealing with such conflicts. This study addressed these concerns.

Methodology

I collected the primary data for this study from human subjects. The data collection methods used included in-depth one-hour semi-structured and unstructured interviews, documentary analysis, personal observations of the students and teachers during classes, lunchtime and breaks. The following criteria were used to select the three schools that took part in the study:

- Senior secondary school category
- Co-educational
- Diverse in gender and ethnic composition and religious orientation
- Recommended by the Ministry of Youth Education and Sports as a very co-operative and academically outstanding school
- Either a Christian- or Muslim-run school
- At least ten years old
- Participating students and teachers must be 18 – 24 years and 25 – 55 years respectively

- Teachers must have taught in the school for at least one year
- Students must be either in Forms 4 or 5

Interview subjects were selected from senior teachers, disciplinary committee members, guidance counselors, senior and form prefects. A total of eighteen subjects (nine teachers and nine students) were interviewed. In effect, the interviews focused on students and teachers involved in school discipline. The study examines how the interview subjects understand the meaning of interpersonal conflict and its effects on student-student and student-teacher relationships. It also examines what types of conflicts the interview subjects experience in school, the root causes of these conflicts and how they respond to them. The paper is organized based on the major themes that emerged from the categories I developed during the data analysis process.

Results

The data collected from the interviews and observations in the classrooms, assembly areas and playgrounds was transcribed and analysed using codes and categories. The results of the study are summarized below.

Students' and Teachers' Understanding of the Meaning of Conflict

The data reveal that nearly all the students define conflict negatively. For example, Christina defines conflict "… as an aggressive disagreement between two parties." Marie agrees, "conflict is a fight… about different views or opinions about things." John views conflict as a fracas between two or more people about issues of common interests." Jane defines conflict as "a misunderstanding or disagreement among students in schools, between students and teachers, among teachers, between teachers and the principal, and between children and parents." I observed that the ten-year old war greatly influenced the students' definitions of the meaning of conflict. This was manifested in Mark's understanding of the meaning of conflict:

> *I would like to define conflict as a situation that occurs when a country or community I somehow problematic. I look at conflict in two ways. There is national conflict that is when the country is in problems. For example, the present situation facing our country. I mean the rebel war. We can say our country is in a conflict situation.*

With regards students' views of the effects of conflict, most students argue that conflict has negative effects. For example, Christina feels conflict is bad because it leads to physical fights. Charles dislikes conflicts because they could cause physical injury. According to Thomas, conflict is bad because "*it leads to malice among students and teachers.*"

Teachers' views on the meaning of conflict were varied. From a negative perspective, Patricia and Margaret define conflict as a disagreement that leads to violence. Most teachers agree that conflict is a quarrel over limited resources. One teacher notes, "*I always perceived conflict as a situation where there is an opposition between one side and the other in terms of principles, beliefs, approaches and of course roles.*"

The study also shows that only three (all female) perceive conflict as having any positive values. For example, Joan feels that "*conflict creates a learning opportunity for both parties.*" They all agree that conflict helps the parties to face the realities of life. All the male teachers felt that conflict is bad because it nurtures ill feelings, leads to frustrations and anger. Many male teachers and two female teachers argue that solving conflicts is disturbing and a waste of time. Conflicts in their views lead to malice and hatred among students and between students and teachers.

Types and Causes of Student-student and Student-teacher Conflicts

According to the students, the major types and causes of student-student conflicts are mostly misunderstanding or disagreement over: the use of inadequate school furniture, classroom and playground space; differences in how each tribe perceived the other; provocations, name calling and teasing; the non-payment of financial loans and failure to return borrowed materials from fellow students; differences in ideas or opinions; stealing of school materials; mode of dress and physical appearance; inappropriate sexual behaviour and gender relations, and the high cost of education.

Interviews with the teachers supported the students' points of views. According to teachers, the major types and causes of student-teacher conflicts included disagreement over teachers' misuse of their power; teachers' negligence of their duties; poor school infrastructure; students' unruly behaviours and poor communication. Other major types and causes identified included: rivalry over girl friends and sexual harassment of the female students; misunderstanding over limited resources due to poverty, and misunderstanding caused by the negative influence of gangster groups. Lastly, the study reveal that the *Mamy Coker* Syndrome was another type of conflict affecting both students and teachers. A student defines this as "*the illegal economic ventures undertaken by some of the teachers during official working hours*." A teacher on the other hand defines this as "*mere extra-curricular survival activit.*"

Interviews with all the teachers affirm the above. In addition, teachers also indicate that: misunderstandings over teachers' go slow attitudes, overenrolled classrooms, the breaking of school rules and regulations are other types and sources of student-teacher conflicts.

Students' and Teachers' Responses to Conflicts

The study shows that when students were faced with conflicts with their colleagues, they use responses such: obscene or abusive language; reporting or complaining either to the teachers or prefects; avoiding the conflict; stealing from other students who can afford school materials and lunch money, and asking the prefects to judge their disputes.

The study also reveals that the girls received verbal abuse from the male students and teachers most of the time, especially when they reject their sexual advances. Christina cited the following common example:

> *The first time I came to this school, a boy in my form asked me to be his lover, I told him no. But he did not stop making this request. This went on for several*

weeks. But I continued to tell him no. He became annoyed with me and he told his friends. They began to say nasty things against me...

The study also indicate that teachers used the following methods to deal with student-student conflicts: use of corporal punishment; arbitration; other non-corporal forms of punishment (including, asking students to kneel down for the rest of the class, instructing students to stand up at the back of the class while holding a chair above their heads at the same time, sending students out of the class and writing a phrase hundred times or so); giving advice on minor conflicts (such as teasing, provocation) and major conflicts associated with sexual harassment and disputes over inadequate classroom space; complaining to the principal regarding disputes connected with drug abuse, sexual harassment, disrespectful behaviours to teachers, stealing, destruction of school property and the lack of adequate school furniture.

When faced with student-teacher conflicts, the study shows that students' general responses included: fighting and use of obscene language, reporting to the Principal or her/his vice and the disciplinary committee members and avoidance. Fighting with the teachers was found to be very rear and isolated. Avoidance and reporting to the teacher concerned to higher authority were the most common responses students used. On the other hand, teachers responded to student-teacher conflicts using methods such as:

Discussion

The findings of the study are discussed under four main themes: the meaning and effects of conflict, the types of conflict, the causes of conflict and conflict management methods. The themes are further divided into sub-themes in order to provide a more in-depth description of the sense I made out of the results. The main themes are discussed in detail below.

The Meaning and Effects of Conflicts

Both the teachers and students agree that "the term conflict has no clear single meaning" (Rahim, 1986, p. 2). The study reveals that the deplorable socio-economic, political, security, health and educational and humanitarian conditions in the country, worsened by the 10-year old war, had an overwhelming influence on the participants' negative perceptions of the meaning of conflict. Therefore, most of the students define conflict as a fight, a fracas, a destructive behaviour and misunderstandings that lead to physical violence and injury. Conflict is seen by many teachers and students as a barrier to progress. Many teachers and students feel conflict leads to violence. In fact most equate conflict with violence. It is important to educate both students and teachers that conflict and violence are not the same. While violence is a choice, conflict on the other hand is inevitable and not a choice (Johnson and Johnson, 1991, Rahim, 1986). There were some teachers and students who saw conflict as opportunity for the parties to learn more about each other and build bridges of friendship.

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Types and Causes of Student-student and Student-teacher Conflicts

The study reveals that most of the student-student and student-teacher conflicts were caused by unmet basic essentials in life (Albert, Awe, Hérault and Omitoogun, 1995, p. 1). For example, the study argues that some of the conflicts occurred because the students' needs for belonging, power, freedom and fun were not met (Fisher, et al., 2000; Schrumpf, Crawford and Usadel, 1991). Poor communication among students and between students and teachers was another major cause of conflict identified by the study. This supports Filley's (1975) argument that "conflict will be greater when barriers to communication exists" (p. 10). Incompatibilities of ideas and values as well as intolerance of diversity were other major causes identified by the study. Johnson and Johnson (1991) agree that when teachers and students share incompatible ideas, information and opinions, conflict are bound to occur.

Students' and Teachers' Conflict Management Methods

Four major conflict management styles emerged from the study: avoidance, confrontation, arbitration, and violence (including physical, structural and verbal). The majority of students and teachers note that students generally felt that not all student-student conflicts could be dealt with in a peaceful manner. The study indicates that most of the students use all forms of violence, such as fights, physical threats, aggression, verbal insults, name calling, stereotyping others, teasing and provocation, as means to respond to conflicts (Brown, Arbus, Haris and Kearns (1995). Teachers on the other hand managed student-student and student-teacher conflicts using structural violence (Moore, 1996) such as coercive force or pressure, improper use of teaching time, charging exorbitant fees for private classes and pamphlets. Corporal punishment was also a common response to conflict used by the teachers. More (1996) suggests that students should be involved in the decision-making process as way of improving structural violence.

Mostly junior and smaller boys who experienced conflicts with some prefects and 'bigger' students (mostly bullies) used avoidance. Students faced with conflicts with teachers used similar avoidance techniques. Avoidance techniques used included withdrawal, ignoring the conflict, postponing to deal with the conflict and pretending that the conflict does not in fact exist. The study disagrees with Schrumpf, Crawford and Bodine (1997) who argue that "when people choose to avoid conflict, it is usually because they are not interested in maintaining the relationship.." (p. 20). The study shows that students and teachers avoided conflicts to a large extent in order to live in harmony with the other disputants. Lastly, arbitration was another method used by some of the students. Class prefects arbitrated minor conflicts such as lateness, minor quarrels, causing noise and teasing. Other major conflicts such as fighting, stealing and use of abusive language were arbitrated by the disciplinary committee and sometimes by the principal.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to describe how selected teachers and students in secondary schools in urban Sierra Leone perceive and manage interpersonal conflicts during complex emergencies, with a view to identifying the challenges for building a culture of peace and for further research. In order to address the root causes of the intra-secondary conflicts identified, this study highlights the urgent need for educational reform in Sierra Leone. It proposes that a Transformative Peace Education (TPE) Model should be integrated into the secondary schools' curriculum in order to build a culture of peace both in the schools and society. "[TPE] ...carries with it a complexity and intricacy, which demand careful thought and consideration...[and] it is an education that deals creatively with the other concerns...such as racism or sexism" (O'Sullivan,1999, p. 168). The major curriculum content themes proposed in the study for this type of programme include, *critical awareness building on gender equality*, *anti-tribalistic education*, *democracy* and *human rights* and *training on constructive conflict resolution*. TPE's methodology is based on the principles and practices of participatory and emancipatory education. This approach supports Kekkonen's (1981) argument that peace education is integral to adult education.

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Ontario – Downsized and Privatized
A Gendered Approach to the Common Sense Revolution

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Abstract

In October 2001, Mike Harris announced his resignation as the Premier of Ontario. This paper re-examines the changes to the humanistic services introduced during the Common Sense Revolution, using a feministic materialistic framework. It proposes that during his time in office Harris's agenda was not that of the people of Ontario; rather it was the agenda of a subset of the population defined by hegemonic power processes.

Introduction

"If you've been the prime minister or the premier, your agenda is the country's agenda. In the private sector, your agenda is of little consequence to anyone but you" (Brian Mulroney, former prime minister of Canada as quoted in Paikin, 2001 p. x).

In October 2001, Mike Harris, premier of Ontario announced he was stepping down. This paper reexamines significant changes introduced to the province during his tenure using a gendered approach to the analysis. It seeks to answer the question "What impact, if any, did the adoption of a market approach have on the female population of Ontario?" Specifically, did the policy changes and introduction of legislation, which resulted in the consolidation of health care services, introduction of workfare, labour unrest at the elementary and secondary school levels and the downloading of social services to regional and municipal governments under the mantra of effectiveness, efficiency and accountability have a different and negative impact on the female population of Ontario? The answer to this question is sought through a review of media headlines using a feminist materialistic framework for the analysis.

This paper proposes that during his time in office Mike Harris's agenda was not that of the people of Ontario; rather it was the agenda of a subset of the population defined by hegemonic power processes. They [hegemonic power processes] consist of concealed processes of meaning formation, uttered in (non) verbal expressions of *common sense*, identification, consensus and *legitimizing rationalities*, which (re)produce consent or compliance with the dominant organizational discourse and the acceptance of day-to-day practices, in spite of the possible disadvantages of these practices for some persons involved (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998b, p.790, emphasis added).

The Need for Gendered Analysis

It is not in any way understating the position that gender is a crucial, yet often-neglected aspect of organizational analysis and critique (Burris, 1996; Collinson & Hearn, 1996; Mills, 1992). Gender is a basic organizing principle in all societies (Acker, 1992; Odendahl, 1994). Failure to explicitly consider gender in any organizational analysis may obscure, hide or bias the analysis and the resulting conclusions. For example, Acker and Van Houten (1991) argue that the conclusions from the Hawthorne experiments would be different if the gender composition of the participants had been included in the initial analysis.

A Feminist Materialistic Approach

A feminist materialistic approach (Mills, 1992) is used as the foundation for the gendered analysis in this paper. It views cultural arrangements as manifestations of a process of idea development located within a context of definite material conditions. This approach is particularly appropriate for analyzing The Common Sense Revolution because the underpinning for much of the change was the current theories and ideas related to government i.e. market rationale and government accountability.

Three significant material conditions predominated in the evolving 'new' role of the public sector; the organizational theories of scientific management; economic theories and practices; and the increasing globalization of markets. Each of these material conditions is rooted in the hegemonic masculinities of entrepreneuralism, leadership and power such that, regardless of the change in policy or practice, women in Ontario are disadvantaged.

Economic theories and practices incorporate measures, such as GNP, that are used to determine public policy. Yet these measures don't account or measure everything within society. It is difficult to reconcile increased emphasis on performance measurements with the reality that many of these measurements exclude significant components of the population.

A group that has the *power* to define all other groups as inferior dominates organizations. It is a white male, heterosexual and largely able-bodied ruling monoculture (Cockburn, 1991 as cited in Collinson & Hearn, 1994). The masculine connotation of authority stems from the lower status of women and femininity (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998a).

Role of the Public Sector

The change in emphasis to public accountability, with its focus on efficiency, began with the introduction of smaller governments, and more emphasis on the discipline of the markets (Maxwell, 2001; Phillips, 1999). Under this regime [of market discipline], individual responsibility is emphasized over social responsibility, and the market more than either collective or individual rights (Armstrong, 1999, p.1). A closer examination of the regime of market discipline reveals its foundations in the organizational development theories of scientific management, administrative theory and bureaucratic theory. All three are based on rationality and the economic man. A well performing public sector program or service is one that provides, in the most cost-effective manner, intended results and benefits that continue to be relevant, without causing undue unintended effects (Mayne & Zapico-Goñi, 1997).

Market discipline translates into a call for less government, targeted social programs for the neediest and deregulation of the economy (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (the "SPCMT"), 1997). A dismantling of the welfare state requires individuals and their families to bear primary responsibility for social services, either providing them directly or purchasing them from the private sector (Brown, 1996 as cited in Arai, 1999, p.6).

> Cutbacks to social programs are part of an overall government strategy to create "a *smaller, more affordable, effective, efficient, and client-centred social service system* …where individual, family, and community have a primary responsibility to provide for themselves". (MCSS, 1996, "Future Directions in Social Services" as cited in the SPCMT, 1997, p.15, emphasis added).

The Common Sense Revolution

In the minds of Mike Harris and his supporters he represented and listened to the voices of all people in Ontario. In announcing his resignation on October 16, 2001, Harris stated: "I thought about the past six years as Premier of this great province and all of the gains that we've made together with *all the families that live here* and *work here*." (emphasis added)

> He [Harris] took a political party that had degenerated from *hegemonic power* to virtual oblivion and rebuilt it in five years. Within months…, [he had] *cut taxes while eliminating the deficit, saving the province from the economic and social wall it was careening toward* (Ibbitson, October 16, 2001, emphasis added).

> The highways [in Ontario] are jammed with new, high-priced cars. At the same time, the subways are creaky, the parks littered with garbage, and the schoolyards ratty. The number of million-dollar homes in the Greater Toronto Area has quadrupled during Harris's tenure. But the number of tenants evicted from their homes across the province has risen by more than 30%. (Walkom, October 20, 2001)

The Humanistic Services

Humanistic services embrace activities generally recognized as "good works" in the community, services centering upon "distinctively human interests & ideals" (Martin, 1985). They are intensely personal, highly specialized, demanding activities. A key underpinning of the delivery is the tradition of service before personal gain. These services draw on the feminine characteristics of empathy, support, kindness and caring, and constitute the ingredients necessary for the good life, the hallmark of a civilized society. This is in direct contrast to the discourse of economics, where the group of people who understand and work within that discourse tend to be economically privileged, university educated, white men (Waring, 1998, p.45). Harris applied the discourses of economics and market rationale to humanistic services.

The reduction in and loss of public services, particularly in the areas of welfare, health and education, puts increasing pressure on vulnerable individuals with modest incomes to try and meet their own needs through their personal systems and self-help groups (Rothwell, 1986; SPCMT, 1997). This social exchange of services i.e. the giving and receiving of services within social networks of relatives, friends, neighbours and acquaintances, is regarded as economically unimportant and remains unacknowledged (Waring, 1988, p.27). The increasing emphasis on informal supports has major implications for women who have to shoulder a disproportionate amount of responsibilities no longer addressed by the government (SPCMT, 1997, p.5)

Downloading to the Municipalities

He [Harris] cut taxes 166 times, by his own account, leaving most Ontarians with more money in their pockets, but depriving the province's poorest citizens of badly needed financial support and compromising basic public services such as health care, water testing, ... and strong schools. (Toronto Star, Editorial Page, October 17, 2001). Many of the cuts in personal income taxes have been erased by increases in municipal taxes and user fees. (Noel, 2001 as quoted in vanRijn, October 17, 2001).

The social services programs downloaded to the municipalities, such as welfare assistance, are intended to redistribute income to the poor. It is more appropriate for the Province to redistribute income using the income tax mechanism than it is for the municipalities to fund these programs through property taxes (Slack, 2000, p.4).

The satisfaction of basic needs to sustain human society is fundamental to any economic system (Waring, 1988, p.28). The humanistic services are dedicated to providing these satisfactions, one of which is safety. Different discourses attribute different meanings to "safety". In economic terms, it is the costs and benefits relative to lost or gained production, possible legal suits, and the allocation of scarce resources rather than a moral value of averting injury, saving life and ensuring healthy working conditions (Waring, 1988).

Commenting on the recently released O'Connor report on the Walkerton inquiry, Tesher (January 22,2002) states:

> ... the judicial inquiry revealed what happened when a rigorously applied ideology and its policies *failed to account* for human variables and nature's conditions (emphasis added).

Health Care

Upheavals in the delivering of health care marked much of Harris' first term, including dramatic hospital restructuring and closures, cutting thousands of nursing positions and allowing private, for-profit companies to deliver some services such as home care. (Lu, Rushowy, Orwen, Levy & Palmer, Toronto Star October 17,2001)

In its perpetual, futile attempt to lower costs, the government [Harris Conservatives] has pushed people out of hospitals while they are still recovering from their illnesses and operations. While home-care workers used to dedicate 70% of their time to looking after the frail and the elderly, they now devote 80% of their time to acute-care patients recovering at home (Ibbitson, 2001). These people [frail and elderly] now find themselves reliant on personal family members or other social agencies to provide the required home care.

Public Education

The Harris government essentially overhauled the public education system, particularly during 1997. Both teachers and administration were required to deal with the introduction of new curriculum, standardized testing and the introduction of "teacher testing". Strikes were a frequent topic in the headlines.

These strikes, often bitter, were precipitated by the proposed changes to education including class size, teacher preparation time, length of the school day and school year and the definition of "class-room time". All of these issues were predicated on "performance measurement", as of measurement alone would improve the quality of education.

Educational restructuring, with its emphasis on efficiency, accountability and outcomes, privileges "hard management" and entrepreneurial discourses of leadership (Blackmore, 1999, p. 3). Teaching is a gendered profession, especially at the elementary level (Siskin, 1995) and women fill the majority of teaching positions. Administration as viewed in the context of leadership is masculine (Blackmore, 1999; Collinson & Hearn, 1996; Siskin, 1995). Thus, the restructuring of the public education system in Ontario, with its public, ongoing animosity towards teachers was a direct attack on women in Ontario.

A one-size-fits-all funding formula was introduced in the name of providing all children in Ontario with equal access to and quality of public education. The dominant perception of equality is based on the concept that equality calls for identical treatment of all people, disregarding the circumstances. In the public education system in Ontario the cover of equality takes attention away from the systematic inequalities related to social class and wealth.

Welfare and Other Social Services

Organizations that service specific constituencies with little political clout e.g. youth, women's and children's services, and immigrants feel the impact of cutbacks first (SPCMT, 1997). Harris polarized the province and never forgot the audience who helped him win his two majorities while largely ignoring the rest. There seemed to be a simmering contempt for the less fortunate that manifested itself in harsh policies and insensitive comments (Simpson, October 20, 2001, p. A21).

Harris signaled to Ontarians that it was alright to demonize welfare recipients, acceptable to treat panhandlers and street kids as unwanted pests and natural to resent sharing one's hard-earned dollars with the less fortunate (Toronto Star, October 17, 2001). For example, the introduction of workfare was followed by the introduction of drug and literacy testing for welfare recipients. At the same time, not-for-profit organizations devoted to literacy efforts struggled to deliver programs in the face of ever increasing reductions in funding.

Conclusion

Contrary to the opening quote, Mike Harris's agenda was not that of the people of Ontario. His agenda was to restore the hegemonic power of a privileged group of individuals at the expense of all other groups. The materialistic conditions, i.e. organizational development theories, economic theories and globalization that resulted in a public sector role more focused on efficiency, accountability and measurement, were grounded in hegemonic masculinities. These masculinities and the accompanying power reproduced a dominant organizational discourse, while disadvantaging certain groups in Ontario. An increasing number of Ontario's population moved into the "not counted" and thus "not valued" category. Unfortunately, women comprised a significant proportion of the "non-privileged" groups and thus were negatively impacted by the changes.

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Frontier College and the Construction of a Canadian National Identity[1]

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Abstract: This study examines the nature of the 'imagined national community' constructed by Frontier College in its literacy education programs from 1899-1933, and how this identity was embodied in its curriculum and instructional practices.

In the construction of modern nation-states, literacy in national print languages has been key to the creation of 'imagined communities' of shared identity among citizens, as Benedict Anderson (1991) has so eloquently argued. By the sixteenth century, the emergence of capitalist, secular society, together with advances in the technology of printing, made possible the new age of 'print-capitalism.' Once the almost exclusive domain of the *literati*—'tiny literate reefs on top of vast illiterate oceans' (p. 15), books, newspapers, circulars and other printed materials could now be mass-produced in vernacular languages for an ever-widening community of readers. Readers of vernacular languages 'gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that *only those* hundreds of thousands, or millions, belonged' (p. 44). Thus an imagined nation-state could now be constructed in 'languages-of-power' for consumption in a 'unified field of exchange and communication' predicated on literacy.

In Canada, Gerald Friesen (2000) tells us that the transition from 'oral-traditional' and 'textual-settler' societies to a 'print-capitalist' society took place from about the 1840s to the 1930s. During this time, the development of literacy and the newspaper publishing industry provoked a transformation in Canadians' perceptions of both space and time, and made possible an imagined national Canadian community. In the collective ceremony of reading similar or the same stories in a daily or weekly newspaper at roughly the same time, the construction of this common identity was immediate; synchronous: 'Now (Canadians) could study maps of a vast country, engravings of distant scenes, and pictures of great parliamentary moments that they might never see in "real life," and they could realize that they encountered them simultaneously with their compatriots from sea to sea' (Ibid, p.147). Readers across Canada were now united in their imaginations just as 'rail lines and telegraphs linked physical spaces' (Ibid.), and a common language of nationalism could be engraved in the consciousness of disparate adults.

What Friesen does not emphasize in his accounting of the making of the imagined community of Canada is its location within the larger narrative of British Imperialism and *its* imagined imperial community. Here was not a nation, but a *world* 'imagined as race and empire,' into which Canada was fitted as one colonial territory among many (Willinsky 1998). Both the educational legacy of British imperialism and its language-of-power, English, were crucial in defining Canada's national identity. As John Willinsky (1998) tells us, in the building of the empire, schools taught students to divide the world according to imperialist racial and ethnic lines. English, for its part, 'was imagined as a civilizing beacon, a light to lesser peoples out of their own dark ages' (p. 200). Leaving aside the question of the imagined community of French Canada and its own imperial discourses, English was clearly the unifying language of empire and nation-building in Canada, and hence of literacy and education, as it was throughout British imperial space. In Canada, Friesen (2000) notes that new

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forms of popular adult education and communication also worked alongside literacy, language and schooling to construct the imagined nation: 'a remarkable generation of social reformers, including E.A. Corbett (adult education), John Grierson (film), and Graham Spry and Alan Plaunt (radio), took the lead in new cultural agencies and along with thousands of others, employed magazines, books, political manifestos, adult education classes, radios and educational films to build a Canadian version of print-capitalist society' (p.151). Along these lines, Frontier College, Canada's longest running adult literacy initiative (Selman, 1998), and its founder, Alfred Fitzpatrick, also clearly had a role.

Inaugurated in 1899 as the Reading Camp Association by Presbyterian minister-educator Fitzpatrick, Frontier College focused its work on bringing literacy and citizenship education to the laboring immigrant men of the remote logging, rail and mining camps at the Canadian frontier. Key to this endeavor were hundreds of university-educated 'labourer-teachers' sent out by the College to work and teach alongside the men, in the hopes that this would promote their 'Canadianization.' In these terms, Frontier College is a rich analytical site on which to examine the construction of a Canadian national identity through adult literacy education. Taking as its context the grand project of Canadian nation-building in the first decades of the 20th century, this study poses two questions: (a) What was the nature of the 'imagined community' of national identity promoted by Frontier College in its literacy education programs from 1899-1933? (b) How did the curriculum content, teaching and learning processes, labourer-teachers and administrators promote this identity among adult learners? Research for the study included a review of published secondary and primary sources identified in the Frontier College Historical Research Bibliography (www.frontiercollege.ca/) and other key works, and archival research in primary documents contained in the Frontier College fonds (MG28 I124: 1860-1978) of the National Archives of Canada.

The Nation Imagined

In the years from 1900 to 1930, a great flood of immigrant workers—some 5 million in all—arrived in Canada to work in the burgeoning factories of Canada's cities, to homestead the vast western prairies or pick up seasonal jobs in the resource extraction industries of the frontier (Iacovetta 1998, p. 359). In many ways this tide of immigrants stoked Anglo-Canadian's worst fears of the country being overrun by 'undesirable' foreign elements (Avery 1995, 1979). Not only were many immigrants not of the most desired type—homesteading agriculturalists, but they also came in increasing numbers from questionable racial, ethnic, religious and political backgrounds, or had a history of labor agitation, or all of these (Ibid.).

On the Canadian frontier, by 1918, an estimated 200-250,000 men labored in 3,700 bush camps spread across the country, mostly in low paying, physically demanding jobs under primitive living conditions (Cook 1987, p. 37). It was these marginalized immigrant men which Frontier College sought to educate and assimilate into the Anglo-Canadian nation, partly out of human compassion for their plight and partly to defuse the threat of 'undesirable' foreigners. By 1920, two decades into its work, Frontier College had posted some 600 laborer-teachers in logging, mining and railway camps across Canada, and had enrolled over 100,000 men in its literacy classes (Cook, 1987, p. 47; Fitzpatrick 1920, p.150). In Fitzpatrick's view, these were exploited men who labored under slave-like, demoralizing conditions and could benefit greatly from the opportunity to participate in literacy and citizenship education. His hope was not only to promote literacy and citizenship, but also, by exposing inhumane working conditions, to garner public support for the provision of government social services in the camps for exploited campmen. All this was framed within the Social Gospel tradition of which Fitzpatrick was a part, an activist Christian reform movement which embraced what were seen as society's neediest persons.

Fitzpatrick's most influential work, *The University in Overalls*, was published in 1920, at the height of both foreign immigration and the Social Gospel Movement in Canada. In it was a public appeal at once to ameliorate working conditions in the camps, advocate for homesteading settlement schemes, celebrate the literacy work of Frontier College and argue for the extension of university education out onto the frontier. The book also contained a composite conceptual mapping of the imagined community of the Canadian nation to be imbibed by immigrant men. In Chapter 10, entitled 'The Instructor as Canadianizer,' Fitzpatrick put forth a nationalizing curriculum including instruction in 'intelligent English,' the structure of government, the geography and history of Canada, and Canadian ideals of democratic society (pp. 139-40, 144). These themes were then given concrete form in Fitzpatrick's *Handbook for New Canadians* (1919), a combined instructor's guide and literacy reader given to all laborer-teachers heading for the frontier. The reader was later published separately as *A Primer for Adults: Elementary English for Foreign-born Workers in Camps* (1926), available to laborers for a nominal fee.

The *Handbook for New Canadians*, in addition to the curriculum themes outlined in *University in Overalls*, also included readings on counting money, measurement of time, space, weight and volume, homesteading, recreation, life in logging, rail and mining camps, dealing with the bank, post office, hospital, etc., health and sanitation, religion, and notably, two pages of lovely drawings of 'familiar Canadian birds and fish.' In part, the literacy primer taught that time and space should be divided up and ordered into a 'totalizing classificatory grid' representing the imagined conceptual domain of the British Empire (Anderson 1991, p. 184), much in the way Canadian schooling brought the world into a single system of ordered imperial thought (Willinsky 1998). In the *Handbook*, a Canadian's identity is clearly positioned within the imagined space of the colonial empire. In the *Primer*, for example, is a world map visually centered on the 'Dominion of Canada,' but emphasizing the spatial importance of the empire over nation even in its title, which reads: 'MAP OF THE **WORLD** SHOWING IN RED **THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH** OF **NATIONS** OF WHICH CANADA FORMS A PART..' Likewise, under the *Handbook* lesson 'Imperial Relations,' the identity of a Canadian citizen is explained as a personal geography of concentric allegiances:

> Canada forms a part of the British Empire, the many parts of which owe allegiance to the Crown. So that every Canadian is at the same time a citizen of a Municipality, a Province, a Dominion, and a world-wide Empire. We can love the municipality in which we live, whether in a county or a city, but we must be true to it as part of a Province, and that in turn as part of the Dominion, and beyond even Canada we must be loyal to the world-wide union of peoples known as the British Empire. (p.175)

This ordering of the imaginary world is then elaborated and given a linear and vertical geography in a lesson on 'The Good Citizen' (Figure 1). The imagined Canadian here is a man who now locates himself in a vertical hierarchy of personal identity with God as superior, followed by Empire, Canada and family. The good Canadian man is protector of weaker females, is diligent, helpful to others, honest and clean, but does not deny his virile campman masculinity.

Figure 1: Ordering the World: The Imagined Citizen

Photo: [5-6 Campmen sit around a room reading newspapers and magazines. In the room are some tables, chairs

and a small chalkboard posted on a pillar. One man is lifting a pointer and peering at the chalkboard as if trying to

decipher the meaning of the words. On the board are written three words: 'Making Canadian Citizens']

Caption: ARE YOU A GOOD CITIZEN?

Text: The good citizen

Loves God.

Loves the Empire.

Loves Canada

Loves his own family.

Protects women and children.

Works hard.

Does his work well.

Helps his neighbor.

Is truthful.

Is just.

Is honest.

Is brave.

Keeps his promise.

His body is clean.

Is every inch a Man.

source: *Handbook for New Canadians*, p. 56

This construction of ideal citizen is repeated in various guises in other lessons in the *Handbook*—readings on Canada's flag, national holidays, gratitude to the UK for investing money in Canada: 'British money has done much to develop Canada' (p. 62), on working hard, on saving and remitting money: 'I shall send some money home to my mother' (p.67), on recreation: 'Point out the need for supervision and control of the community over questionable recreation' (p. 120), on obeying the police and laws of the country.

Sanitation, personal cleanliness and table manners also run as a strong theme in the imagined Canadian identity, in part because of Fitzpatrick's desire to improve unsanitary camp conditions and in part due to his own Anglo-Canadian norms of personal hygiene. In a lesson on 'Personal Cleanliness' for example, a photo of a modern tiled bathroom with gleaming white porcelain flush toilet, bath and sink, wastebasket and neatly folded towels is captioned: 'VIEW OF A SANITARY BATHROOM.' The text below then reads: 'Take a bath every day—it is not too often. You will look better, you will feel better; bathing helps to keep you well. Clean, healthy men are always good citizens (p. 85).' Or on table manners: 'I must cut with my knife and use my fork for eating, not grab food with my hands. It is wrong to grab with one's hands or eat with one's knife' (p. 61). The ideal of immigrants as naturalized citizen and settled homesteader is also emphasized. Detailed procedures for obtaining naturalization have their own chapter, and were clearly related to fears that immigrants might in fact elect not to assimilate the desired model of good citizenship:

> We must educate (the foreigner) to our standards both at the frontier and on the
>
> homestead or one of two alternatives confront us: either we shall see him go back to Europe taking with him money that had better be put to use here; or worse, drift into
>
> the hovels and overcrowded tenements of our towns and cities (Fitzpatrick 1920, p. 138).

Settling immigrants in stable, family-based homesteads as fully legalized citizens was the counterpoint to the transient, rough and tumble masculine society of labor camps at the frontier, filled with men of diverse nationalities as yet unsure in their loyalty to the proper Anglo image of the Canadian nation, if loyal at all. Settling itinerant workers on the land in stable, clean and prosperous communities, with wives and children as a 'civilizing' presence, was thus to be encouraged. *Handbook* lessons along these lines included a 4-page 'Visit to an Alberta Farm,' 'The Soil,' 'Taking up Land in Northern Ontario,' 'Taking up Land in the West', 'A Workman's Home,' and 'The Workman's Family:' 'I am glad when the work is done for the day. I can go home to my wife and little family' (p. 52). This movement towards stability was reinforced as well in regular circulars of teaching suggestions sent out to laborer-teachers in the field: 'Explain method of taking up land in New Ontario. Show them that certain dues and assessments must be performed. Encourage them to get back to the land…'[2]

The Teaching of Nation

The literacy curriculum contained in the *Handbook* and adult literacy *Primer* was one representation of the imagined national community crafted by Frontier College. The white, college-educated men who were sent to the frontier to teach the curriculum were another. Here, the idea was that contact with 'wholesome,' clean-living, loyal Canadian, English-speaking men who could nonetheless do a hard day's work in a logging, mining or rail camp, would serve as the model of good citizenship which immigrant men would emulate. The good citizen imagined in the *Handbook* was first embodied in the laborer-teachers and then sent out almost as a missionary epistle to the men, but in the primary cause of nation-building rather than religious conversion. In the initial contract given to laborer-teachers going to the field, instructor supervisor Edmund Bradwin outlined his expectations of literacy instructors in this regard:

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[2] National Archives of Canada, Frontier College Fonds, MG 28 I124, Vol. 134, Circular Letters 1920: 'Suggestions to Reading Camp Men on Reaching the Foreign Navvies,' pp. 17-18.

> While you stand for staunch Canadianism, and for British institutions, do not get into arguments, avoid expressing pet opinions, teach rather by example and daily wear and tear. You will be measured by your worth, not by your theory. Quietly and unassumingly you are a moulder of Canadianism.[3]

As Bradwin saw it, 'The aim should be (1) to at least teach them the three r's, and (2) to make them intelligent and safe citizens of Canada and empire.'[4]

The design of literacy classes followed the seasonal and daily rhythm of work found in the camps. Laborer-teachers had a minimum three month contract, usually in the summer, and worked by day alongside campmen, usually doing the least skilled jobs. They shared the same food, lodging and work conditions as the campmen, and as model citizens, took pains to treat them with respect and 'neighborliness.' Once they had attained the reciprocal respect of the men, they would offer English, literacy and citizenship classes by night. As Fitzgerald saw it, the classes should initially build on the 'stock of words' which the workmen already possessed, and additional English taught them should be of some use in their daily lives while at the same time helping to shape them into good citizens. At all times, according to the *Handbook*, instructors should treat the men as adult learners and not school children, for 'the system of training for the boy or girl is not suitable for the middle-aged' (p. 6). A typical night's work should involve 20-30 minutes of drilling new words, 15-20 minutes writing a drill from the blackboard, and 10-15 minutes on civics, citizenship, 'social intercourse,' and relaxation (pp. 5-12). The basic approach was to introduce new vocabulary, initiate drills and discussion around the vocabulary and reinforce it in writing, in this way drawing out the men to freely speak their minds and the instructor to freely try to shape them:

> As the working-fund of words is gradually acquired, the instructor, by firing questions back and forward, can convey practical suggestions and advice to his class on home life, cleanliness of habits, food, and work; and in time he may proceed to more abstract ideas on the duties of citizenship and the place of the new-comer in the country's life. (p. 6)

The realities of camp life and the need to improvise as a teacher were also acknowledged: 'Mr. Fitzpatrick does not hold any instructor to hard and fast rules. Each camp will vary and it is left to the judgement of the man on the spot how best to adapt his plans. In general, however, stick to the method, plans, lessons and themes given in Fitzpatrick's Handbook,' wrote Bradwin in one of his periodic suggestions to the field.[5]

In addition to the *Handbook* and the literacy *Primer*, a good supply of newspapers, periodicals and books were supplied to the camp for the service of the campmen and laborer-teachers. This practice harkened back to the early days of the century, before the idea of laborer-teachers was adopted, when Fitzpatrick was an itinerant educator hauling packs of books out to campmen, trying to establish reading tents or rooms. By 1920, instructors were enjoined to subscribe to the nearest daily newspaper, always have '4 or 5 fresh magazines for a Sunday or every ten days,' and 'send to the

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[3] Vol. 134, Circular Letters 1920: 'Frontier College.'
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

Toronto office for a bundle of stock magazines...Give Canadian and British magazines preference.'[6] Here, Anderson's (1991) analysis of the importance of newspaper reading as a unifying force in print-capitalist societies is clear, and as well in *Handbook* injunctions to the campmen: 'The man who reads keeps in touch with the world. Read a good paper every day. The newcomer should aim to read a paper written in English' (p. 108). From Bradwin: 'If some event fills the day's news, discuss it – take the appointment of a new Premier – how is it done, why, what does it mean to the country, what part does the individual vote play in it – discuss from a broad point as an instructor of Canadians..'[7]

Conclusion

Into the print-capitalist, immigrant society of early 20th century Canada came Frontier College with its particular blend of literacy and citizenship education on the frontier, the nexus of which shaped an imagined national community of Canadians. The nation presented is one of the good citizen embalmed in Social Gospel traditions, occupying the divided space of empire, fearful of foreign influences on Anglo-Canadian society, celebrating masculine prowess. It is a distinctly gendered identity, in which women appear only as appendage family members, if they appear at all. It is a construction of class and education composed on the consciousness of laboring immigrant men. It is also a construction of nation conceived against the 'Other' of Communism, labor agitation and undesired races (Walter, 2002). It is a history well worth examining for its relevance to literacy, adult education and nation today.

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[6] Vol. 134, Circular Letters 1920: 'To Western Instructors of the Frontier College: Some Suggestions.'

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Building the Canadian Learning Society: From the special Report to Henson's Provincial Plan (1942/3-1946)

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Today the discourse of the learning society, the learning economy, the learning organization and lifelong learning permeates discussions in North America, Europe and other parts of the globe. According to some educational visionaries and policy gurus, we have arrived in the Learning Age and this is all very good and shiny new. But it is deeply misleading for policy makers and educators to imagine that thinking about the relationship between adult learning and the domains of work, civil society, state and person, or the relationship between adult learning and the great challenges posed by the age, is peculiar to our Information Age. For the purposes of this brief paper, I want to examine a particularly creative moment in Canadian adult educational history, the agonizing period from 1942/3 to 1946. Canadian adult educators in the war years responded in imaginative ways to the multiple crises they thought confronted their society. They produced several remarkable texts: the "Report of the proceedings of a special programme committee of the Canadian Association for Adult Education" (December 27-January 2, 1943); "Adult Education Theory and Policy" (October 1944); and "Provincial Support of Adult Education in Nova Scotia: a report by Guy Henson" (1946). Each of these texts can be usefully understood as a policy document pertaining to the dynamics and challenges of the social totality.

I: The special Report (1943)

In the early war years, E. A. Corbett, the director of the CAAE believed that unless the ruling Liberal party's post-war plans had the support of informed and vigorous public opinion, the masses of Canadians could easily be manipulated with the powerful economic interests emerging in the driver's seat. The CAAE hoped to guide the process of public enlightenment toward a more just social order. The CAAE's Council chose Watson Thomson to direct the special committee on Education for Reconstruction. This committee deliberated at MacDonald College in Quebec from December 27 to January 2, 1943, and Watson Thomson, Dr. W.H. Brittain of MacDonald College and Robert T. Mackenzie of UBC's Extension Department compiled a report of the proceedings. The resulting "Report" is one of the most important documents in CAAE history and set the tone and direction for the London conference in May 1943 which launched the Citizens' Forum. This report was written when the outcome of WW II was not yet certain, and the adult education intellectuals believed that the collective experience of the war contained significant learning potential. They also believed that a just learning society required a "foundation in public opinion and the public will" (p. 5). At this epochal moment in 20th century history, these intellectuals believed profoundly in the concept of public, or deliberative, space. A better world did not just happen; it had to be created and sustained by vigorous learning processes characterized by a "critical examination of the social processes by which those popular aspirations for a better world might be fulfilled" (p. 4).

The Report opened by setting the "context of the problem." The authors identified the fundamental problem as building "a more dynamic popular conception of the war effort, both in terms of what we are fighting against and above all in terms of the new world which can emerge from the war if there is an enlightened and effective national will to that end" (p. 3). It was not a question of mobilizing "adult education" to help Canadians adapt to a taken-for-granted post-war reality. Rather, they believed that citizens had to engage one another in a deliberative learning process to actively shape the emergent world. They thought that the war was teaching "men in the interests of survival, if for no higher motive, to cooperative together and to utilize their resources efficiently for an agreed social purpose" (p. 5). These collective, experiential war learning processes of Canadian men and women, they intuited, gave them a cultural hook for the "immense and urgent educational task" of creating a people's peace and laying the foundation for a "permanent United Nations cooperation" and bridging the "gulf between the democracies and the Soviet Union" (p.6). Designing a just learning society had to both realistically face the "facts of the existing situation with all its inexorable limitations as well as its hopeful opportunities" (p. 6).

The committee then followed contextual observations with the articulation of "some fundamental principles" (a shortened version would be adopted as the CAAE Manifesto in 1943). Never was the term "democracy" in greater need of re-definition and re-vitalization than in contemporary Canada. The committee contended that people believed that narrow controlling interests lay behind the "façade of democratic procedures." The great ideals of political equality were almost meaningless in the face of the oligarchic control of Canadian life. Thus, the meaning of democracy ought to be thoroughly examined: its economic meaning now had to be placed in the forefront. And the role of "community planning and collective action from below" as a counter-balancing force to minimize the danger of bureaucratic control had to be carefully scrutinized. The authors articulated what late 20th century political theorists label "associative democracy". Paul Hirst **(From statism to pluralism [London: UCL Press, 1997: 38)** states that associationalism may be "loosely defined as a normative theory of society the central claim of which is that human welfare and liberty are both best served when as many of the affairs of society as possible are managed by voluntary and democratically self-governing associations. Associationalism gives priority to freedom in its scale of values, but it contends that such freedom can only be pursued effectively if individuals join with their fellows. It is opposed to both state collectivism and pure free-market individualism as principles of social organization". This vision of democracy had affinities with the guild socialism of G.H. Cole and others, and Watson Thomson was, perhaps, the first Canadian public intellectual to articulate these ideas in Canada in the late 1930s and 1940s. He also attempted to create the learning infrastructure for an associative democracy in various provincial and national arenas (Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Canada).

The committee gave considerable attention to the "Canadian scene". Here they thought they had to identify some of the "major problems with which any Canadian reconstructionist educational programme must concern itself" (p. 12). The interpretive procedures were, first, to identify the "major problem" (or, in Oscar Negt's lucid phrase, "trouble spots"), and then to offer an "assessment", which was followed by the specification of "tasks". For example, after identifying and assessing the "inadequacy of Canadian planning" as a major problem, the committee claimed that the task ensuing from this assessment was to "focus attention on the planning philosophy which is implicit in much of our war organization and on the planning techniques which have evolved, and to show what will be required if they are to become the instruments of the achievement of a creative democratic society" (p.15). If Canada were to commit herself to building a stable and just world, it was imperative to understand clearly what the major groups in Canada thought about post-war reconstruction—French-Canadians, Labour, Farmers, Business, Armed services and women. Each group was examined to understand its problems (that needed solving) and its potential to create the just learning society. In the final section of the Report, the committee set out its recommendations for a CAAE reconstuctionist educational programme. Any such programme which remained aloof from the "urgent necessities of the moment" was foredoomed to failure. The CAAE, as a federated organization within civil society, sought to mobilize Canadians to examine their future in the light of fundamental ethical principles.

II: "Adult education theory and policy" (1944)

In October 1944 the Saskatchewan CCF under Tommy Douglas's leadership swept the Liberal machine out of office, winning 47 of 52 seats. Douglas wanted not only to introduce legislation on health, collective bargaining, and education, as he had promised. He also wanted to use a campaign of grassroots radical adult education—a massive campaign of study-action throughout the province—to begin the building of a new society. Watson Thomson, who arrived with his family in October from Manitoba to direct the new Division of Adult Education (the first in Canada), thought he saw exciting vistas ahead. Woodrow Lloyd, the Minister of Education, imagined that a new Division of Adult Education should clarify the thinking of Saskatchewan citizens so that desirable social and economic concepts could prevail, and provide adult education with immediate and tangible aims (co-operative farming, credit unions, health improvement facilities, development of community centres, and leisure-time activities). What is particularly remarkable about the Thomson period in Saskatchewan is his coherent vision of a just learning society.

Thomson moved quickly to establish government policy for adult education in Saskatchewan. His brief, "Adult Education Theory and Policy", outlined what Thomson thought was the only possible attitude to adult education for a socialist government to adopt. It was of the "utmost import" that members of the Saskatchewan government understand the educational theory and principles of the new Adult Education Division, both in itself and in relation to their own social philosophy. Education was not impartial and socially neutral. In Saskatchewan, an adult education conforming with the principles of the "social" theory had two primary concrete tasks: to support the people with relevant knowledge in their movement towards the new objectives for which the way has been opened up, whether it be cooperative farms, larger school units, or new public health projects; and to awaken the people to a sense of the "central issues of the world crisis," still unresolved, so that there would be a clear way ahead for modern society. Thomson informed the cabinet that a socially-minded education had to find the where the "growing points" were, where a sense of social purpose was breaking through towards liberatory social change. Then, that activization had to be fostered in every possible way, feeding it the material for its creative job of reshaping the environment. In the fall of 1944 Thomson wagered that a significant number of Saskatchewanites had opted to move towards a more participatory and self-reliant society. He saw his task as catalytic: helping people to clarify their goals and achieve their ends through critical dialogue.

The knowledge that the Adult Education Division wanted to convey was not knowledge for its own sake, but for the sake of change nearer to the heart's desire of ordinary, decent people everywhere. Average people, Thomson believed, did not want to study the history of medicine in the abstract. But when they began to ask why they could not have a decent hospital in their own district, and to get together with their neighbours to figure out some way of getting one, they are ready to learn some history of medicine, as well as some social and economic history of western Canada. Aware that the trend in agriculture was towards increasingly mechanized, capital-intensive, large-scale units, Thomson urged farmers to bring their isolated farms together into single cooperative communities. He was convinced that the people could take the "raw material" of a prairie village and create a new pattern worked out by ordinary people from below. But one could not do that without study and cooperative action. "No study without consequent action. No action without previous study": this would be the banner of the division's study-action programme.

The visionaries in the Division of Adult Education envisaged nothing less than a comprehensive adult education program for social progress through which five hundred thousand men and women of the province would be encouraged to become active citizens and fully-rounded personalities. Under the direction of William Harding aided by district supervisors, the department began to proceed systematically to establish "starting points" and growing points, study-action groups and community councils. A starting point, as Harding conceived it, consisted of one individual; a growing point of four individuals interested in a common problem or issue. When ten units cohered around a common theme, a study-group was created. Three central issues were clear to Thomson and Harding. First, they understood that the Saskatchewan government had to demonstrate to the farmers, workers, and plain people that a "provincial socialist government" could effect tangible material improvements. Second, they knew that the mass of people must be mobilized and activized as rapidly as possible. Only by participating in the processes of democratic deliberation and social change would people realize that "socialism is democracy extended" and the bogey of "socialism as mere bureaucracy and regimentation" ludicrous (the theme of associative democracy). Third, Thomson and Harding believed that the "political consciousness" of the mass of people must be so deepened that the foundations of prairie radicalism became unshakable.

The first task was one of legislation and administration, the second and third matters in which adult education could play an important role. Study-action had been designed to meet the second need—mobilizing and activizing the people at the grassroots level. It was essential, the study-action strategists contended, to begin with a broad approach to "communities as communities", serving them in some appreciable way regarding their "felt needs." Study-action, citizens' conferences, and the Lighted School all aimed at serving communities in an "above-party spirit." It was also educationally sound, they thought, to attempt to lead study-action groups from local and immediate concerns to the affairs of the province, nation, and eventually, the world. As one did so, the issues discussed would inevitably take on a more "political" character and groups would look to the Division of Adult Education for guidance. That guidance could be then given on the basis of confidence earned through non-partisan services in the community-centred interests. Developing this political consciousness, though the most crucial task as far as the progressive movement was concerned, was also the most difficult. Thomson's way of designing the just learning society was

III: Henson's Provincial Plan (1945/6)

Guy Henson had cut his teeth as an adult educator in Halifax in the 1930s, setting up a chapter of the WEA and fostering Antigonish Movement style credit unions in urban Halifax and Dartmouth. Returning from war service with the Canadian Legion Educational Service in Europe in the fall of 1945, Henson was asked to create a new Division of Adult Education. He spent many months collecting data on the discipline of adult education and other initiatives world-wide as part of his own learning process. The publication of "A Report on provincial support for adult education in Nova Scotia" in 1946 became the guide for the work of the Division and, in itself, can claim an important place in the intellectual history of Canadian adult education. Like his counter-part in Saskatchewan, Henson thought that the post-war changes in society were creating the possibility of an educative society. When he took on the task of setting up the new Division in 1945, he viewed adult education as being closely connected to his vision of associative democracy. The very life of democracy depended on the self-worth of the populace, intelligent and critical thinking individuals who would wrestle with controversial issues of the day and collectively would organize and develop their communities. In the post-war world of Nova Scotia, Henson believed adult education could play an axial role in revitalizing society and in revitalizing democracy.

Henson organized his famous report into three sections: part I, "The goals of adult education," Part II, "A constructive approach," and Part III, "Proposals for action." Plainly written, but brilliantly formulated, Henson acknowledged that formal schooling did not turn out the "finished product,"and that "work activity" and the associative life of civil society had a deep "educational effect for the adult." "The newspaper, magazine and book the radio, the film, the church, the political parties, occupational associations, social and fraternal groups form," he observed, "a complex of agencies which have the main part in transmitting knowledge and opinions to grown-up people." Recognizing that adult learning was occurring in the domain of civil society, Henson asked "to what extent can the educational movement as such be strengthened so that an increasing body of people will turn to it for knowledge without bias, for skills efficiently taught, for attitudes towards life, and for the inspiration of the arts." Henson knew that education was an intervention in pre-existing learning domains (work, state, civil society), and that the learning process within these domains was not necessarily as deep, broad or as critical as it could be. Henson believed that the socialization of youth had left them with fragments of knowledge primarily oriented to their own pleasure and profit. Adult education would not be "realistic" and would not "fulfil its task unless it [was] geared to the vital needs of life in these times and in Nova Scotia: unless it plays its full part in enabling people to use their intelligence, their skill and their finest qualities for economic and social progress, and for achieving a richer and happier life."

Like the formulators of the special "Report" and the Study-action plan of action, Henson did not focus primarily on the needs of the individual. Rather, Henson's imagination drew the circle around the system and the life world. He thought that "education must be regarded as the process by which we learn how (1) to make a living; (2) to live with others; and (3) to live fully." Addressing the system domains of economy and polity, Henson argued that Nova Scotia's "economic circumstances call for more all-round intelligence and vocational skill on the part of the average citizen; for more alertness as to scientific progress, government policies, and business organization, and as to what is going on elsewhere in our markets and in competitive producing areas." This simple formulation anticipates the "learning economy" and "learning society"discourse of the late 20th and early 21st informational age. Turning to civil society, Henson insisted, that: "All the agencies of daily life which disseminate information, ideas and opinions, or teach skills, or give inspiration enter into the general framework of adult education." This included "institutions and activities"normally thought of as education, as well as the press, radio, film (public spheres), churches, political organizations, trade unions, social clubs, enlightened conversation groups (voluntary associational learning sites within the learning domain of civil society). Henson's argument, still pertinent today, was that "educational planning" had to "concentrate on multiplying the means and the efficiency of continuing self-education of leaders and the average citizen." Education, then, within this holistic learning society frame, was an intentional intervention into pre-constituted learning domains whose purpose was to foster a just learning process. Henson was well aware that both the system and lifeworld domains contained miseducative tendencies, and that the actually existing functioning of these domains excluded some, and rewarded others (he was particularly concerned about the oppression and exclusion of black Nova Scotians from the circle of the learning society).

Henson gave considerable attention to the policy dimension of his provincial plan. He firmly believed that governments had a "legitimate interest in furthering adult education as a democratic instrument of progress and in co-operating helpfully with all the independent forces at work in it". This tenet is fundamental to the vision of associative democracy; and far removed from contemporary Canadian political visions. For Henson, governments had the responsibility to enable the voluntary agencies to "do their educational work in the community", for the community was for most of its members the "school of work, of family life, of recreation, of culture, of democracy in action, and personal living." Thus, he argued that the "work of present agencies and institutions, the activities of voluntary bodies, the efforts of individuals, will always be of the greatest importance for adult education". Civil society was the "natural unit" for "continued education." Henson provided strenuous arguments for government interest in and provision for the continued education of young people reaching the age of citizenship, and for enabling men and women of all ages to have the best means of thinking and informing themselves about public affairs. In a sense, Henson's strong emphasis on the public sphere and active citizenship is a message almost forgotten by today's politicians. Henson grappled with the question of how, and to what extent, government could stimulate and support the post-school learning activities of individuals, local groups, communities, and voluntary bodies of wide scope? This question is more pertinent than ever, and these remarkable documents can help us confront our age.

Training Programs for Displaced Workers: An Exploration of Canadian Government Policy

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Introduction

Education is commonly seen as the solution to many of our social and economic problems. Often, however, we find that education alone is not enough. The Canadian government regularly introduces re-training programs and job creation schemes as the solution to worker displacement. These initiatives have met with varying levels of success. The problem may lie, in part, in implementing isolated programs and policies without due consideration for other significant variables. The lack of an integrated training approach that considers economic and social factors may be a significant contributor to the general failure of re-training programs to meet the needs of displaced workers.

This paper explores government re-training policies developed for unemployed and displaced workers in Atlantic Canada. It considers these policies and programs in relationship to post-industrialism and the changing nature of work. The paper then addresses potential implications for re-training in the context of post-industrialism.

Worker Displacement in Atlantic Canada: The Case of the Northern Cod Fishery

In 1995, the Canadian Federal government imposed a moratorium on the Northern Cod fishery off the East Coast of Canada, effectively closing the industry in Atlantic Canada and Quebec. The fishery had sustained the East Coast of Canada for centuries. Economically, socially, and culturally, the fishery has been the backbone of many communities. Whether providing employment directly for those who harvested the sea and for those who worked in the fish plants or indirectly in spin-off industries and services supported by the income generated, the closure devastated an entire region. Compounding the problem is the lack of alternative employment opportunities throughout Atlantic Canada. The Atlantic provinces have historically been an economically depressed region. While there have been periods of economic growth in the region in recent years, the growth tends to be limited to key urban areas and little effect is felt in former fishing communities. Employment opportunities in the region in any sector are few and far between.

In response to the crisis, the Federal government introduced The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) as a solution to the immediate and long-term situation. Announced on April 19, 1994, TAGS was a five year, 1.9 billion-dollar program that addressed a variety of needs resulting from the collapse of the fishery. (HRDC, 1994) The plan was extensive and complex in addressing the enormous need facing the region. The TAGS program was broad in its objectives with adjustment measures such as licensing retirement, income subsidies, career planning and counseling, mobility assistance, vaguely defined community economic development initiatives and re-training programs.

Training and Re-Training

Re-training of displaced workers is not a new phenomenon. Employers and governments have often looked to re-training programs as a means of upgrading skill levels. At a time when resource and manufacturing industries are in decline, and when the numbers of permanently displaced workers are increasing as a result, re-training programs take on an increased significance. The Canadian government often responds to high unemployment and displacement by implementing re-training programs, especially in Atlantic Canada. The Ministry of Human Resource and Development Canada (HRDC) is primarily responsible for the delivery of these programs. Re-training under the TAGS program was administered by HRDC through its regional offices. These regional offices were ill equipped to deal with the numbers of displaced workers eligible to participate in re-training. They were allocated little in the way of additional resources and few accommodations were made for the specific needs of displaced fisheries workers. (MacDonald, 1999) Re-training for displaced fisheries workers was delivered within the existing structures, policies and programs of HRDC. Re-training initiatives in the region, including those within the TAGS program have achieved mixed levels of success.

HRDC Programs

HRDC's programs for the unemployed and displaced workers are developed nationally and administered at the local level through Human Resource Canada Centres (HRCC). HRCC offices have some latitude in the delivery of these programs based on individual HRCC business plans, the economic situation in the area and on the local labour market situation. HRCCs consult with local community groups, business and non-profit organizations in determining how best to meet community needs through HRDC programs and services. (Cody, p. 1)

Though the process for program delivery is clearly identified, the policy development process is less clear. In seeking clarification of the policy development process in relationship to programs and services for the unemployed, HRDC responded by stating:

> …if Human Resource Centres of Canada (HRCCs) or regional offices require clarification or interpretation of EBSM (Employment Benefits and Support Measures) terms and conditions, policy is developed at the national level and provided to the regions. (Cody, 2002, p. 2)

This seems to imply that training policy is developed only when regional offices require clarification on programs and services. This would also seem to indicate that programs are not developed to meet policy objectives beyond the broader scope of HRDC's overall mandate, "…to enable Canadians to participate fully in the workplace and the community." (Saucier, 2002, p. 1)

HRDC currently offers four employment benefits programs: skills development, targeted wage subsides, self employment and job creation partnerships. A more detailed account of the skills development program follows. Targeted wage subsides provide employers with financial assistance for the payment of wages to participants. The self-employment benefit provides financial and business planning advice to enable participants to establish businesses. Job creation partnerships provide participants with opportunities to gain work experience. HRDC also offers three support measures programs: employment assistance services, which funds organizations to provide employment services; the labour market partnership provides funding for the community to improve their capacity for addressing human resource requirements and to implement labour force adjustments and, finally the research and innovation program. These benefits and support measures programs, together, provide various avenues of assistance for the unemployed. (Cody, 2002, p. 1-2)

The skills development program provides participants with direct financial assistance to enable them to obtain skills for employment. Participants must have an active employment insurance claim or have had an active claim within the past three years. This requirement can be flexible up to a period of five years, depending on local conditions and as determined by local HRCCs. Participants meet with the local counsellor to develop an action plan for training and employment. Participants develop a training budget that considers all training costs and are expected to contribute between 10 and 25% of the costs associated with training. Training programs must be a minimum of 42 weeks at a registered training institution, but not a university. (Mulak, 2002)

It is difficult to determine whether these programs can or do reflect the changing nature of work. There does seem to be opportunity for consideration of the local labour market and community need within the delivery of these programs but such flexibility appears dependent upon the knowledge and expertise of local HRCC administrators and of those who provide input from the community. Whether participants have opportunities to obtain training relevant to the changing nature of work also seems to depend upon their own knowledge of the changing labour market.

Post-Industrialism and Post-Fordism

Before considering the implications of the changing nature of work on training, we must first consider the changing nature of work itself. Permanent worker displacement is occurring in many industrialized countries. Whether the result of globalization, increased competition, better technology or resource depletion, large numbers of people are being permanently displaced. Many theorists and writers purport that the age of industry is in decline. They suggest that industrial countries are entering a period of post-industrialization and that this has dramatic impact on the ways in which we work. Industrial countries across the globe have seen their industries decline. The traditional economic bases of manufacturing, fishing, mining, farming, forestry and the like, have experienced sharp declines, technological change and economic and organizational restructuring. As traditional ways of working change, so too, must we change the ways in which we respond to restructuring. Traditional interventions such as training, re-training and job creation schemes alone may no longer be effective in meeting the needs of our economy.

The writing on post-industrialism, its variants and components is prolific. But what is meant by the term post-industrialism? The themes of information technology, globalization, decentralization and diversity are found throughout the post-industrial literature. The elements of post-industrialism are representative of the framework through which developments and changes are analyzed and not of the developments themselves. Post-industrial analyses focus on three areas of change: the rise of automation and computer technology, changes occurring at the level of work where the emphasis is on flexible specialization and the growth of service-based industries, and broader social change.

There is debate as to whether post-Fordism constitutes an analysis of broad social change on its own or whether it is one element of post-industrialism. Perhaps the ambiguity of post-Fordism can be explained by Cater (1997) when he notes it was originally conceived as a method of analyzing the labour process but that attempts to use it to describe broader societal transformations have not been successful. Amin (1994), however, notes that post-Fordism is not only concerned with economics but is associated with broader social and cultural changes such as greater fragmentation and pluralism, greater work flexibility and the maximization of individual choices through personal consumption.

Whether seen as a narrow analysis of work-related change or as an analysis of broader social change, key themes and elements emerge from the post-Fordist debate that help to define and describe the concept. In much of the literature, there appears to be a general acceptance of the elements of post-Fordism although there is much debate on their positive or negative implications.

For Jessop (1994), post-Fordism is typified by flexibility in all areas of labour production and relations. He identifies three general forces behind the emergence of post-Fordism that are related specifically to the labour process. These forces are the rise in new technologies, internationalization and the paradigm shift itself from Fordism to post-Fordism. Amin's (1994) discussion of post-Fordism identifies similar key elements or indicators of change: the inability of Fordism to deal with the changing market and changing consumption patters, the role of technology in creating economic change and the move from tightly controlled assembly line production methods with semi-skilled workers producing standardized goods to a system of flexible specialization based on skilled workers producing a variety of specialty and custom goods.

Implications for Training

What, then, are the implications of post-industrialism and post-Fordism for training? If the way in which we work is changing, then we need to change the ways in which we prepare for that work. If we will no longer be able to depend on holding a single job or career for our working life, then we are going to need to be adaptable to changing work places and we are going to need transferable skills.

A significant criticism of the post-Fordist work structure is the potential for a large gap between those who know and those who work. A flexible work place may be suitable for workers educated in ways that enable them to take advantage of a highly flexible work environment. However, the greatest job growth in the past decade has been at the semi-skilled and unskilled levels. To respond to the challenges post-industrialism and post-Fordism present for training, training policies and programs must address both macro and micro level changes to the world of work. We will need two tiers of training. Two levels which produce two very different outcomes. One to develop training policies and programs that provide for job-specific skills and a second to provide workers with foundational skills that will facilitate the transition from one job or career to another. This may be difficult for training providers, particularly government, given the general reluctance to deal with and fund the attainment of intangible skills. How do you measure, and thus justify expenditures for, training someone to be flexible, creative and participatory? To prevent a widening gap, we would need training programs to encompass both job specific skills and broader foundational skills that teach people how to work and to get themselves into the work process. Just as the theoretical work on post-industrialism and post-Fordism addresses both macro social, economic and cultural transformations, as well as specialized shifts in the labour process, training programs must also address these larger shifts in the meaning and nature of work along with providing specific skill sets to do a given job.

Conclusion

To what degree, then, do HRDC programs for unemployed and displaced workers provide for job specific skills as well as broader foundational skills that will facilitate not only entry into the workforce but also the ability to maintain unemployment? The description of HRDC programs provided above leads to the conclusion that obtaining job-specific skills is the underlying objective of the employment benefits programs. Less clear, however, is whether HRDC's programs intend to, or can, provide unemployed workers with the foundational skills necessary to obtain and maintain employment. There may be opportunities for unemployed and displaced workers to obtain the kinds of broad-based skills necessary to obtain and maintain employment through the support measures funded by HRDC. However, it is not clear what kinds of services are provided. Nor are the mechanisms through which communities are to improve human resource capacity and address labour force adjustment made clear.

Nonetheless, these programs suggest there is potential for HRDC's training programs to provide for the two tiers of training. Close and careful collaboration between HRDC and local agencies and organizations could provide the unemployed with both job-specific skills and broad-based foundational skills within the context of HRDC's existing programs. However, the Atlantic Canadian region is notorious for its lack of accountability among and between both government and independent agencies. Local economic development agencies have long been criticized for the failure of countless development programs initiated in the region. HRDC itself has been criticized, under the TAGS program, for a lack of accountability in providing substantial funding to local government community development agencies responsible for job creation and economic growth. In a region where lack of accountability and collaboration is renown, an integrated approach to the developed of re-training policies and programs that considers the implications of the changing nature of work, the local labour market and the needs of the community is called for.

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Idealism and Reality in the World of Social Policy and Substance Misuse

A Narrative Approach to 'Learning for Social Change'

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Abstract: Based upon Father Moses Coady's determination that "every social problem is an educational problem" (cited by Gillen in Scott, Spencer, and Thomas, 1998, p.275), this paper links two domains. Overlaying academic theory onto real life community-based change agentry provides an expanded critique of clinical application for 'learning for social change' - at both the individual and social development level. Reference to gender and geographic inequity over a 28 year period of political and social policy begs a review of moral purpose.

Introduction

The following narrative is an academic attempt to bridge the domains of social work and education. Should we accept the commonly held opinion that only one percent of the world's population is able to continue on to post-secondary education, then it behooves us to look beyond the institutional structures of colleges and universities, into the informal milieu of community based education: the learning style of even those living on the fringe of 'society'. Why? Because as Butterwick (1998) explains, "Today, as in the past, women work as ... *learners* exploring ways to break out of poverty, to break out of violent relationships, to learn new technologies, and to develop skills and knowledge to create safe and caring communities" (p.103, italics are mine).

The focus of this paper is to study non-formal learning sites within a community context for the purpose of 'learning for social change'. When we are speaking of 'learning' and 'change' it is beneficial to be reminded that, "There is more failure in change projects, even ones that everyone sees as necessary, than there is success" (Scott, 1999, p.xi). This must not discourage us however, as we hold hope for success while remembering that learning is a life-time endeavour, and change must constantly be responded to. We must also focus on *who* is learning, and *how*, as well as *where* that learning occurs. This paper concentrates on an ultimate learning experience (as alluded to by Butterwick's reference to poverty and violent relationships). It is one of basic survival, in the form of removing a heroin addicted teen from her life-threatening existence. We as educators have an opportunity here to apply theory to reality. For example we can examine the notion that the helper/instructor/teacher/guide might, in many instances, learn as much or more from the experience as does the client/student/recipient of services. We can also examine how two specific theoretical approaches can be used in critical clinical application.

Although the event took place in 1975, before "change processes were first identified theoretically in a comparative analysis of the leading systems of psychotherapy" (Prochaska, 1979, cited by Prochaska, DiClemente, and Norcross, 1992, p.1107), I have chosen to reflect upon and write about this incident because of the dramatic impact it has had on my own personal and professional life. Due to the passage of time, I can only hope the same is true for my compatriot in this journey, and since I am unable to receive consent to tell her story, I will focus on the impact to myself, and those observable change stages and processes for the recipient.

The Situation

As a young, idealistic, and committed court worker for the John Howard Society's *Siblings' Project* in Vancouver, I would work with clients, their families, and friends, who found themselves involved with the justice system - particularly the Provincial Court then housed on Hastings and Main. As is representative in direct service work, the type of case often flows in waves, and near the end of a two year caseload, I had a spate of instances involving young girls in their teens who were prostituting themselves in order to supply their heroin habits. One such girl, aged seventeen, stood out from the crowd, and we began to spend extra time together, trying to problem-solve her situation. We engaged in deep discussions similar to 'John's Story' in the book *Crazywater*, "wondering what the hell life is all about, or if life had reason, or if there was reason to live" (Maracle, 1993, p.56). She had been on her own since she was fourteen, having left an abusive family situation. She gravitated to 'the corner' where an entrepreneurial pimp had cultivated her assets, 'protected her', and become her 'friend'. She was using heavily when I met her, and had landed in the courts due to prostitution and 'theft under' charges. The street under- world on Hastings had become accustomed to my presence by that time, and because I was seen to be in the role of helping their girls (with the court scene), the pimps allowed my involvement.

The Process of Seeking Help

This particular young lady's pimp was out of the scene at that time, having had himself incarcerated on a drug charge, leaving his girls on their own to keep working until his return or be taken over by someone else. It was a propitious moment of opportunity, with the young lady frightened enough with her own projected jail time, sick enough of the street life, and young enough to still believe herself to be invincible regardless of the effects of detox. Theoretically speaking, at this point she was moving from the **contemplation stage of change** to the **preparation stage**, defined by Prochaska et al (1992), as embracing "serious consideration of problem resolution" and "intending to take action in the next month" (p.1104). I was naive enough to believe that love, patience, commitment, and consistency could solve all, or at least most, difficulties. She described, in the desperate and melodramatic manner of hard core drug users, her desire to 'come clean', to live a 'normal life', to regain her health, and to avoid jail.

In those days the detox units of Vancouver were strictly focused on alcohol rehabilitation. The use of heroin and/or cocaine was considered to be hard narcotics requiring specialized services which for the most part did not exist (especially for females), or which were entirely overloaded. We could find no facility available to meet her needs at the time of her readiness to attempt a new lifestyle. I believed then, as I do today, that timing is everything, that one must "strike while the iron is hot" as my grandmother would say, and that the 'karma' or the synchronicity of events comes together for a purpose. Our combined purpose at that moment was to help her get clean.

As I look back now, I see that I broke every unwritten rule for community workers, and probably some written ones. I was living alone in a small house with an extra bedroom. So, I simply took her home. I, as the helper, was selected through: circumstance, her trust in me, my naivete, my misdirected desire to help, and through lack of alternative resources. My employment situation was autonomous enough (supervising a staff of five, allowing me to work outside an office, and doing street and court work), that I was able to book off five days in order to sit with her while she went through the usual symptoms of "withdrawal from opioids" (Addiction Research Foundation, 1996, p.207) - crying, vomiting, scratching at crawling sensations beneath her skin, screaming, arguing with unseen voices, craving.

She was very ill, and although at times I became frightened, I believed that I had no recourse. We maintained our action plan, until by the fifth day, she was waxy-faced and limp, and I was haggard and vibrating. We had made a previous arrangement with her older brother, that she could stay with him, his young wife and newborn, but only after she had detoxed. We agreed to meet him at his suburban home and I delivered her, with some trepidation, as her brother laid out the rules of the house. The poignancy of that moment remains with me today: the early morning drive; the freshness of the dew on the grass; the suburban cleanliness; the image of a new beginning; the desire in her eyes to be accepted and loved by her family; her vulnerability with newly awakened sensations and emotions; her tremulous smile as I left her alone with her unknown, wholesome, sister-in-law and fresh faced, unsullied niece.

My impressions of this young girl's expectations of myself as the helper were simply 'to be there for her' - both before we began, while she was still out on the street; during the detoxification, while she was ill; and afterward, while she was reconnecting with her family.

My own feelings about this experience were complicated by exhaustion, relief at handing over the responsibility of her health and well being to her family, and fear of recidivism. I was visibly shaking by the time I returned to my own home, but felt that I had been able to be fundamentally and concretely useful in my chosen profession. Looking back at this experience from the vantage point of time and maturity, I can see the ego-involvement in my attempts to save the world, or at least the sphere in which I operated. Coming from the social revolution of the 1960's and '70's, my unconscious mindset was to make change, create a better world, and assist the oppressed and downtrodden. Underlying that was my basic belief that 'there but for fortune went I', and the spiritual belief that as Swami Sivananda says, "one should make the world a better place for having passed through it." I continue to hold this truth, but with a more jaundiced eye, and particularly in areas of substance misuse I now defer to those with more professional expertise.

Change Probe Status

I was able to stay in touch with this young woman for some time despite my own eventual experiences. She lasted a week or two with her brother, ended up back on Hastings and Main for a short time, and then once again detoxed, this time with another friend. Her brother took her back and she began working at a fast food restaurant in another suburb close to Vancouver. I saw her at work about ten months later, holding down a waitressing job, living in her own apartment, and grateful to be off the street - although she did miss the large amounts of money that went with her previous lifestyle. Tips were meager and the boss was difficult, but nothing compared to her ex pimp. She expressed similar sentiments as those voiced in 'Gary's Story' in the book *Crazywater,* when he states, "I got my self-esteem back and an identity" (Maracle, 1993, p.70).

It was not until a short time later, with another young woman in the same predicament, that I realized that I had somehow taken on the vibration of a junkie during the process of the detox with this first girl. The experience had seeped into my pores, into my body, my being. I could (and did) spot a junkie in a crowd of hundreds, say, in a ferry crossing over to Vancouver Island. I was on my way to my own burn out. I realized enough that I should not do this again in my own home, and the next attempt with another young woman was in a cheap lower east end hotel. I began to burn out very quickly. My mind would not shut off. My body began to shake. My empathic abilities had led me over the edge. What I had hoped to happen was for my client to find a happy, healthy lifestyle, with purpose of her own. What began to occur was my own downward spiral. I stayed with friends for several days, only to realize that I was in no shape to continue to 'help' others, until I could help myself. This was the beginning of my humble road to discovering my own limitations - what is now defined in the business as "boundaries" (Kasl, 1992, p.234-237). (The self-care required to re-establish my equilibrium to return to the helping profession required almost two years.)

As this story unfolds, there is a two pronged theme: one of the helper/instructor/teacher and one of the client/student/recipient of services. As the helper, I learned from this experience invaluable lessons about ego, desire, limitations, not being attached to the fruits of one's actions, burn out, when to call for help, how to protect the sanctuary of my own home, and the incredible extent one must go through to deal with opiates. I learned that 'junkies and hookers' are real people; intelligent people; people searching for 'soul'; and people who are in emotional, physical and spiritual pain. Charles Taylor (1991, p. 40-41)) speaks about this ultimate search for purpose and the need to define one's identity against a "background of things that matter ... the needs of my fellow human beings or the duties of citizenship, or the call of God". My anecdotal experience in working with substance misusing clients supports the notion that this population is desperately seeking such connections with a larger purpose, in order for their lives to make sense.

I believed then, as now, that this substance misuse was as the British Columbia Ministry of Health and Ministry Responsible for Seniors (1996, p.5-10) states, a "net result of a complex interaction between a combination of biological, psychological, social, and spiritual determinants" which are now grouped together and called the "Biopsychosocial Theory" (Ibid) or often called the Biosychosocialspiritual Theory. This fits with Taylor's (1991) idea that "The agent seeking significance in life, trying to define him- or herself meaningfully, has to exist in a horizon of important questions" (p. 40). Unfortunately, these horizons of significance have succumbed to a "facile relativism" (Bloom, cited in Taylor, 1991, p. 13) within the greater society, which allows the moral position granting everybody to have their own values and "not to challenge another's values" (Ibid, p. 13-14). With many children of the street, such as my client, this leads to the lack of opportunity to "become full human agents ... through our acquisition of rich human languages of expression .... including the 'languages' of art, of gesture, of love, and the like" (Taylor, 1991, p. 33). These children find themselves desperately searching for meaning. They seek a way to mask their deepest physical, emotional, cognitive, and soul wounds, often caused by early abuse at the hands of adults who held and failed the responsibility of teaching and role modeling appropriate and loving responses to life.

The client I was working with passed through the various theoretical stages (related to *when*) and processes (related to *how*) regarding change. I first met her when she was in her **contemplative stage**, with the timing of life events pushing her into the **preparation stage** (assessing her options and considering her problems). With my support and involvement she attempted to modify her behaviour, experiences, and environment (by detoxing and returning to her family) which she sustained for several weeks - an **action stage** (Prochaska, et al, 1992, p.1104) - before **relapsing** (Ibid, p. 1102). She continued her "spiral of change" (Ibid, p.1104) by moving through the stages again of **precontemplation**, **contemplation**, **preparation**, and **action** with another friend, before managing a **maintenance stage** of "more than six months of abstinence" (Ibid).

As for the change *processes*, my comment regarding timing is related to the stages of **contemplation-preparation** which my client was in as it relates to the treatment process of consciousness raising (observations by myself, confrontation by the court), environmental reevaluation (street location), self-reevaluation (values, problems), and stimulus control (removing her from the street and aiding her detox via 'cold turkey' methods) (Ibid, p.1109). For her **maintenance stage** she used "reinforcement management" and "stimulus control", while she "assessed the conditions under which a person was likely to relapse" (i.e. continuing to live near Hastings and Main; continuing her old profession), and developed "alternative responses for coping with such conditions without resorting to self-defeating defenses and pathological responses" (by getting employment as a waitress; living and working in the suburbs rather than Vancouver) (Ibid). She began to understand, "You can't live the way you used to live. You're gonna have to get rid of the friends. You gotta get rid of the old lifestyle. You can't hang out some of the places you used to" (Maracle, 1993, p.157). One could describe this experience of hers as a transtheoretical model ahead of its' academic time, "entailing (a) a cyclical pattern of movement through specific stages of change, (b) a common set of processes of change, and (c) a systematic integration of the stages and processes of change" (Prochaska et al, 1992, p.1110).

Analysis

This client and I discussed and argued the merits of "healthy alternatives" to her "unhealthy substance use" such as those discussed in *The Hidden Majority* (Addiction Research Foundation, 1996, p. 144). We also covered a number of details in her **preparation stage** included in those listed as "Practical Suggestions for Women", such as self-care, assertiveness versus aggression, relaxation techniques through yoga and deep breathing, healthy nutrition, support networks, and proper sleeping patterns (Ibid, p.145-147). I continue to use such suggestions daily with most clients and colleagues, due to this personal experience of burn out.

Elizabeth Ettorre (1992), in her book *Women and Substance Abuse*, has a chapter entitled "Women and Heroin". Here she refers to researcher Rosenbaum's (1981) notation that "a heroin-using woman ... is expected to bond with a man and share, indeed support, many aspects of his life" (p.74-75). In my client's case this manifested in her prostituting herself and turning her money over to him, in order to supply their two habits, along with his other peccadillos. His absence for a short while allowed other influences in her life to take precedence.

Ettorre (1992) touches on three other vital issues which we also faced back in 1975 as well as today: (i) lack of female drug rehabilitation units: "... the world of drug treatment is also controlled by men (Brownlee, 1981) and women seeking help in this system tend to find treatment strategies (counselling, psychotherapy, group therapy and so on) sexist in content as well as in form" (Ibid, p.81); (ii) the slut myth: "Whether or not a female heroin addict has ever exchanged her body for drugs or money for her habit, she is characterized as an impure woman, an evil slut or a loose female" (Ibid, p.78); and (iii) reference to what is now called the BioPsychoSocial Theory or the BioPsychoSocialSpiritual Theory: "Litt (1981) in a study of drug use among adolescent females contends that their drug use has serious social, psychological, physical and medical implications which are both qualitatively as well as quantitatively different from those of adult males in general and male adolescents in particular" (Ibid, p.83). To my mind, this common sense procedure in dealing with overlapping systems and approaches, in the complex human drama of substance abuse or any other lifestyle changes, demands the need to "address the broad range of problems" providing a "continuum of services" and "early intervention" combined with "the importance of comprehensive individual assessment" (British Columbia Ministry of Health et al, 1996, p.6), and is a theory whose time has long since come.

It is therefor an unfortunate situation that we presently face in British Columbia given the political scenario that is unfolding with the newly elected Liberal government. Social policy alternative think tanks such as the Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives are concerned that thirty years of social development will be swept away during this next political cycle. Indeed, with declarations of funding cuts to substance abuse programs across the province, the prospect is not promising that unique, ongoing, local rural programs, such as the Women's Art Therapy Day Program for addicted women in the West Kootenay Region will survive. Noticing the retrospective twenty-eight year interlude since the original narrative, we endure seeing urban programs continuing to be over-booked, back logged, and almost impossible to become enrolled in, while rural women continue to feel the social deprivation beyond all others in society -- lacking funding, facilities, and travel subsidies. Perhaps we should refer back to the early seventeenth century when "Francis Bacon criticized the traditional Aristotelian sciences for having contributed nothing 'to relieve the condition of mankind' (cited in Taylor, 1991, p.104). Despite Bacon's model of science "whose criterion of truth would be instrumental efficacy" (Ibid), Taylor points out, "what is important about Bacon is that he reminds us that the thrust behind this new science was not only epistemological but also moral" (Ibid). Perhaps the political agenda of today might appreciate that "instrumental reason comes to us with its own rich moral background" (Ibid, p. 105) in "the ethic of practical benevolence" (Ibid, p.106). Let us stand together as leaders in education and social development to rekindle the moral and ethical codes upon which our professions were founded, and step beyond our domains to influence the financial and ideological potencies of the political realm, to make our entire social fabric a healthy environment for all.

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Mending Our Ways:

Leading Dialogically as Adult Educators for a Stronger Civil Society

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Abstract: A dialogical approach used in an adult educational setting with disadvantaged and marginalized adult learners where relationship, connection and community is considered essential to learning, empowerment and growth is explored as the basis for an emergent model of leaderful praxis in larger fields of influence such as community development work and public policy deliberations.

Introduction

This paper presents an emergent response to current questions about the kinds of leadership that are required of adult educators and the field of adult education as it is now situated in a complex context of economic globalization that is undermining adult education's vital role of fostering an active citizenry capable of expressing responsibility to each other through social democratic action. Such questions are of great concern to adult educators and the field of adult education (Cervero & Wilson, 2001; Scott et al, 1998; Usher et al., 1997; Walters, 1999; Welton, 1995; Blackmore, 1989). Cervero and Wilson, for instance, see adult education as "a site of the struggle for knowledge and power" (p. 10). These authors emphasize the need for locating our work as adult educators "more firmly in social analyses and struggles for social justice" and to "to focus our attention at the heart of practice to understand how power relations in the wider society are being enacted in the specific locations of adult education" (p. 15). If we are able to increase our consciousness in this way, they argue, we will "better understand how to create educational programs, practices and policies that give people control over their social, cultural, economic and political lives" (p. 15). Michael Welton (1994), who has been encouraging us as adult educators to rethink both the boundaries of and practices of adult education, points to those *formative* spaces and sites of emancipatory learning such as our social movements of ecology and peace where, through a complex social learning process, ordinary citizens are transforming the way they see themselves, nature and others and developing political knowledge and competence to take action. Jill Blackmore (1989) critiques the traditional views of leadership that have rested on the concepts of individualism, hierarchical relationships, bureaucratic rationality and abstract moral principles, and proposes a feminist reconstruction of the concept of leadership that is based on values of a relational and communitarian nature.

A reflective practice, the reconceptualization of leadership and the creation of new sites of emancipatory learning are thematic threads that are weaving their way into deliberations with my colleagues concerning our practice in a unique community-based learning setting for marginalized adult learners and in our approach to community development work. Having compound psychological, health, substance misuse, criminal justice and mental health issues, the adult learners we work with often share a common experience of profound disconnection psychologically, socially and materially from the larger community. In the learning community where we come together, relationships and connection are not only highly prized and considered essential to learning, empowerment and growth, but represent the foundation of a future oriented vision of "being, belonging and becoming" for all members of the community, for both teachers and learners. The title of this paper, "mending our ways," refers to the potential of "dialogue," as a set of practices, an outlook, a way of thinking, and a way of being that places relationship and connection in the foreground as we work together within an educational framework for social justice in our community. A relational practice that is guided by a Gestalt approach, having as its foundational principles, dialogue, field theory and phenomenology, has strongly influenced our work with adult learners. We have seen as adult educators how such a relational practice in our individual relationships with the human beings in our care can be powerfully healing and empowering in itself. However, in the face of the erosion of health, education and social services and systems that are less and less responsive to the needs of vulnerable and "at risk" people in our community, we have needed to extend this relational practice to fields of larger influence in community development work and public policy forums.

Dialogue

There is a large body of knowledge on dialogue that ranges from Socrates to Buber, Bakhtin, Bohm, Habermas, Rogers, Baker Miller and Freire among others. Dialogue is a term that is rapidly becoming a signifier for all sorts of human encounters that hold the promise of improved communication and relationships in dyads and larger systems. For the past few years, dialogue as a means of inquiry into the way we think collectively, based on the theory of David Bohm, has enjoyed privileged status in corporate quarters. Peter Senge's *The Fifth Discipline* (1994), the work of the organizational development consultants' Ellinor and Girard's *The Dialogue Group (1998),* and William Isaac's work that has emerged from MIT's Sloan School of Management (1999) have capitalized on the marketing promises of a wide range of dialogue techniques to enhance performance, improve communication and increase ability to get results. McNamee and Gergen (1999) have framed dialogue in terms of "relational responsibility" to inform the practice of mental health, organizational development, politics, judicial systems, and education, but also the practice of everyday living as it concerns relational responsibility. Cooperrider (1987) has developed a collaborative learning process using dialogue called "appreciative inquiry." This process focuses on what is positive or life-giving in the systems we participate in rather than on a problem-solving orientation. The most notable example of how such a dialogic process inspired civic involvement and innovation was the use of Cooperrider's process of appreciative inquiry in a project called Imagine Chicago where ordinary citizens came together to realize a positive future vision of their city.

The Dialogic Philosophy of Martin Buber

In our learning community, we have been exploring the dialogic philosophy of Martin Buber as it has been situated and articulated in Gestalt theory and practice that has strongly influenced our work with adult learners. The Gestalt approach, having as its foundational principles, dialogue, field theory and phenomenology, seeks to foster the growth, development and transformation of people and communities. Because of Gestalt's unique emphasis on Lewin's field theory, the approach gives careful attention to the issues of our interdependence with the larger fields in which we are embedded – social, environmental, economic, cultural, political, transpersonal. The phenomenological method of the Gestalt approach emphasizes the importance of paying keen attention to "how each of us sees the world, how each of us contributes to creating our own experience, and how we each organize our world and ourselves and how we create our own meanings" (Resnick and Parlett, 1995, p.4).

I-Thou and *I-It* relating are key concepts of the dialogical approach associated with Martin Buber. Buber believed that we alternate between these two styles of relating in our everyday living. *I-It* is a style of relating that is characterized by analysis and judgment and may include relating to another in an instrumental way. *I-Thou* was clearly the preferred style of relating that Buber believed we should aspire to. *I-Thou* refers to a special quality of meeting between human beings that has the greatest potential for healing and connection. The necessary ingredients that Gestaltists have identified that contribute to this unique quality of *I-Thou* relating are presence, inclusion, and confirmation. *Presence* refers to one's capacity to be fully present in the encounter with another, that is, to bring all aspects of one's experiencing senses (phenomenology) to the encounter. Dialogue, as Resnick (1995) describes it, is the open engagement of two phenomenologies. *Inclusion* describes the complex process of entering the other's subjective world or phenomenology without judgment in order to attempt to see the world through the other's eyes. *Confirmation*, implies an acceptance of the other as a partner in a genuine dialogue. Rather than approval, confirmation implies that one receives and makes the other present as a whole and unique being in the dialogue.

Dialogue in the Buberian relational tradition describes the interaction or exchange between people when there is a desire to genuinely meet the other person. *Dialogic relating,* in Buber's formulation, did not necessarily refer to speech in the ordinary sense but rather to the notion that humans are inherently relational in that we grow and develop by virtue of relating to others and have the capacity and urge to establish meaningful relationships with others (Mackewn, 1997, p. 80). Buber's belief that "genuine dialogue is an ontological sphere which is constituted by the authenticity of being,..." (Agassi, 1999, p. 87) offers exciting possibilities since the relational practice of dialogue is a "way of knowing" (Belenky et al, 1986), a site or space for tremendous creative potential which is governed by an ethical orientation. As Mackewn so aptly puts it: "When two [or more] people engage with each other, each constellates the field in their own unique way and at the same time influences the other and jointly shapes the quality of their interaction. They co-create their reality in the shared dance of relationship" (1997, p. 82).

Buber was careful to point out that one can't simply make "dialogical" relating happen.

Rather, one can learn to nurture or foster the conditions under which "dialogical relating" can unfold. In the therapeutic community where I work, one important and ongoing means of creating such conditions is to use our powers of awareness to consider carefully how those in our care are constructed by systems, and of course, by us, the "ones caring." Increasingly, expert systems such as medicine and mental health analyze, label and classify people according to highly professionalized vocabularies of human deficit. Such systems tend to focus on symptoms and behaviors in isolation and have a tendency to leave out other relevant parts of the person's field that may figure prominently in their prospects for healing. When exploring with our students who they are as people, our participants often report that they are "an addict", "a worthless person," "morally defective," "a deviant." Not only does this description match the pervasive systemic meanings that have been constructed about addicted persons and their circumstances, it also demonstrates how persons with substance misuse issues in our society embody or carry the collective systemic assumptions about them. As people working with fragile, marginalized and disadvantaged individuals, our team has needed to consider in thoughtful ways what the norms, values and conventions of such systems are and what we have accepted or assimilated, gone along with reluctantly or are actively rebelling against. Without this kind of exercise of our awareness, we run the danger, as people in positions of power over those in need of our assistance, of missing the ways that we are responsible for how systems are and how we might challenge how they operate in a seemingly unproblematic way.

For people who have been so marginalized and stigmatized by the larger community and often by the systems designed to assist them, who have even given up on themselves in large part and have little awareness or faith in their ability to begin to approach a state of healing and wholeness, the modified therapeutic community model provides essential conditions for people to recreate themselves through shared dialogic processes with others. In the therapeutic community model, it is the community made up of participants, staff members, activities and the social environment that is seen as the primary teacher and healing agent of primary importance in providing a safe container for the relational aspects of the healing process. It is the field of the community itself that restores persons back to relationship with self and others. The change process takes place with the support of people and relationships similarly involved in the learning process and in the context of a mutual self-help approach which sees each individual contributing to the change in others. For many, this may be the first time they have experienced relationships that foster connection. This is often the first time they experience being in, belonging to, and a sense of becoming in a community where people share common commitments, where people demonstrate responsible concern for self and others, and where there are opportunities to learn about, deliberate and make choices about the ideas and values that will inform their communal life.

Fostering Conditions for Dialogue in Public Spaces: Leading Dialogically

Participating at a variety of community and regional policy tables with municipal, provincial and federal government representatives, citizens, business leaders, educators, clergy, physicians, politicians, police and social service workers, my colleagues and I struggle alongside these others in a climate of uncertainty, fear and confusion. We are all trying to find our way to active and inclusive involvement in bringing an alternative vision of our communities into reality that is more representative of all of its constituents. Many of us recognize that we work within structures and systems that foster social disconnection and alienation for many people. In addition, many of us have relationships that have been characterized by rivalry as scarce resources have created an environment where community-based organizations have competed for survival. With fewer and fewer resources available, our singular interests for the survival of the interest groups we represent make it difficult to work together. There is a lack of trust and belief in possibility. We lack the ground of relationship to begin to work not only effectively but meaningfully together. People attending such gatherings often report that the tension they experience is unbearable and that we repeatedly arrive at what are considered impasses in achieving agreement or consensus on what actions should be taken. Leading dialogically using the reflective practice of the Gestalt approach encourages us to bring our presence to the space of dialogue with others. Using a phenomenological method encourages us to inquire into this seeming impasse: How are we organizing the field here today? How is the field organizing us (me)? How am I organizing myself? How am I organizing you? Such questions have brought welcome relief as we are able to acknowledge that the old structures, rules and procedures we have become accustomed to are inadequate to meet the challenges of the scale of change we are facing. When we are able to begin to listen to and share our processes of thinking, to explain our perceptions, our perspective is enlarged and new opportunities emerge. Are we willing to make the commitment to spend more time to reach understanding rather than reacting and moving into action?

Buber once said that the climate of genuine dialogue is great faithfulness (Agassi, 1999). Buber appeared to have great faith in the creative potential that was fostered in dialogue between and among people. He believed that what came from this realm of the "interhuman" would be of great benefit to society. Recently, the faithfulness of my colleagues and I to the dialogic process was tested when we were brought into a community consultation process with citizens who were angry about substance misuse and prostitution in their community and about programs for people affected by substance misuse issues located in their community. We attempted to prepare for this process by developing persuasive arguments about the benefits of having such programs in the community. Surely, we thought, community members would see the wisdom of such arguments. The atmosphere of our early meetings was fraught with tension. At this stage, citizens expressed anger and feelings of distrust of the consultation process, civic politicians and of us. It was difficult to stand to our values and keep meeting negative comments from citizens. This clearly felt like an impasse. Then, one of the citizens began to laugh and announced that he had an idea. The notorious fast ferries were in the news at the time. The man began by saying that perhaps it wasn't a good idea, but carried on to suggest that we (meaning our organization and the people we assist) should all be put on one of the fast ferries. An uncomfortable silence followed until one of my colleagues responded by standing and gesturing as if to put on a hat and said: "And I'd be Captain Mike?" The meeting erupted into laughter for several minutes. It was a critical moment in the dialogue. My colleague had the presence of mind to meet the man in the liveliness of the moment as he inserted himself in the dialogue in an unpredictable way. It was a key turning point in the dialogue as the deliberations that followed turned to what were the key issues for citizens: feelings of a loss of control over decision making processes in their community, lack of integrity in supposedly democratic processes and the actions of elected politicians. In following meetings and other informal gatherings, the process of "mending our ways" took shape as citizens began to share their vision of the city with us which included community gardens and rehabilitation of streams and a dialogue began about how we might share in, join and support their vision of their community. Their contact with participants in our programs was another important step in the process. Citizens were moved by the accounts of participants in our program who shared their experiences of disconnection and alienation from the larger community as well as their experience of hopefulness as they came to experience a sense of belonging to a community that fostered relationships and connection. Citizens responded with accounts of their own feelings of isolation and yearning for connection with others. In addition, this dialogue included collaborative formulations of plans to access information and become more meaningfully involved in city planning processes in their community and proposals to elect candidates in city elections who would represent their vision of their community.

Challenges to a Relational Practice

Lannamann (1999, p. 90) has argued that a relational practice is fragile when practiced in the presence of others who have a dominant agenda. "There is little incentive to change," he suggests, "for those not interested in relationally responsible action particularly when they know that the other will practice relational responsibility." Lannamann's concern is legitimate. As adult educators working for social justice in our communities in the context of the dominant agenda of economic globalization, this is why it is so important to imagine and explore new formative spaces in our communities where citizens can connect in meaningful ways to restore their confidence in their ability to develop political knowledge and competence to resolve complex social, economic and environmental challenges and to take actions that can make meaningful differences in their lives and in the life of their community.

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Community Cooperation: A Fast Track Vocational Technical Education Program

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Abstract: Government and industry have acknowledged growing shortages of skilled trades people in manufacturing industries. It is necessary to provide industry with skilled trades people to replace those who will be leaving the labour force at an abnormally fast rate. The paper's focus is on the implementation of a 'Fast Track' model for vocational training.

Introduction

Government and industry have acknowledged growing shortages of skilled trades people in manufacturing industries. The exodus of labour from the skilled trades threatens to create a serious problem for Canadian manufacturing industries. Most industry, however, is located in urban areas and subsequently very little has been done to address the problems experienced by industries that are located in rural areas. Since 1990 the task of offering industrial skills training programmes in Canada has been made more difficult by substantial cuts and restructuring in federal funding to adult education. The changing structure of federal funding for adult education has encouraged a gradual, but significant curtailment of offerings by colleges for adult technical training preparatory programs for the skilled trades, i.e., millwrights, machinist, and welders. This has resulted in a reduction of access to training programs for those interested in pursuing careers in the industrial skilled trades. Existing problems of skilled labour shortages are exacerbated in rural areas where there is a smaller labour pool for industry to draw from and consequently fewer skilled personnel are available. The Federal Government has acknowledged future fiscal problems for rural communities, and has sponsored various programs over the last decade in an attempt to retain small business and industry in rural areas as a part of an ongoing program to reduce migration from rural areas to the nation's industrial cores.

The paper focuses on a model for vocational training, developed to address the problem of skilled labour shortages in a rural area of southern Ontario. Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) listed industrial millwright mechanics among the top thirty groups of skilled workers most in demand in the region, together with welders, and machinist respectively. In an attempt to meet the projected shortfall of industrial millwrights in the area, the local Manufacturers Association (MA) requested the local campus of a community college to develop an accelerated basic level industrial millwright-training program. Previous industrial training programs delivered by the college were 48 to 52 weeks in length. However, the college created an innovative *"Fast Track"*, twenty-four week training program within the context of a general millwright program. Although community colleges provide excellent training, it was extremely difficult for the college to meet the exact needs of individual companies that the Manufacturers Association requested. The specificity for example was that one company required an emphasis on hydraulics training, but did not necessarily require a new employee to have an in-depth knowledge of pneumatic systems. At another company the most important skill requirement was that a new employee possess a more extensive knowledge of rigging and equipment installation etc., but did not require high skill levels of hydraulics or pneumatics.

Traditionally when a company request a training program the college develops a course curriculum created specifically to provide a training program that meet the training needs of the company in question, but the course would a) be only available to the employees of the company purchasing the training program and b) usually unsuitable for others who are not employed by that particular company because of the specificity of the course content. Therefore to meet the training demands of local industries it was necessary to create different methods of course development and delivery, together with adjustments to the traditional methods of course administration that would enable the college to work more closely with local industry and meet specific training needs of each participating company. New training requirements were facilitated by (a) introducing new methods of course development, (b) adjusting the existing procedures to make them more flexible, and (c) tailoring the program to meet the specific needs of local industries.

The challenge for this project was to provide training that would prepare graduates of the program to perform tasks of plant maintenance from basic to intermediate levels that utilised specific technical knowledge required by individual companies in the area, but without further immediate training by that company. A goal was for graduates of the program to possess sufficient technical trade knowledge to assist in meeting the local demand for personnel possessing basic trade skills that would enable them to advance rapidly through the adjusted apprenticeship program that has been proposed by the Provincial Government. An innovation of the program was the aspect of community cooperation that required the active involvement of potential employers in the selection process of applicants for the program. If an applicant were found to be satisfactory as a potential student and employee, the stakeholder would then sponsor the student in the program. The student attended college four days a week and worked at the sponsoring company in a maintenance environment one day a week. On the successful completion of the twenty-four week program the sponsoring agent, dependent on an opening being available at that time, would hire the student.

Methodology

The study evaluated the effectiveness of the *"Fast Track"* program in meeting the specific industrial training needs of the participating companies in the region from the perspective of the stakeholders who were directly involved in the program regarding the forecast of future staff shortages in the area for industrial millwrights trade. Two types of data were collected during, and after the program. (a) Formative program evaluation data to monitor the progress of the students and adjust the program curriculum, and (b) research data collected specifically for the case study. The design of the study incorporated a series of face-to-face semi-structured interviews for program evaluation and research data, focus groups and surveys for the collection of research data, program evaluation and student demographics.

The purpose of the meetings was to monitor the progress of programme, and to determine company satisfaction with the training programme in the plant. These observations were used to inform the development of subsequent research interview schedules. The format for the meetings was as follows. Every third Thursday of every month for the programmes duration, a progress meeting was held by the four principle stakeholders: (a) the student, (b) the principle course faculty member, (c) the training coordinator of the Manufacturers Association, and (d) a representative of the college administration. The purpose of these meetings were to monitor the student's academic progress in the course and to determine if the student was experiencing any problems academically or at the work placement. Meetings were designed to ascertain the student's performance in areas of particular importance to the prospective employer.

Performance was assessed both at the college and at the job placement. Performance areas included attendance and punctuality, attitude, teamwork, and academic performance. Students were encouraged to voice any concerns they may have had about anything related to the course, course work, or their placement at the respective company. If the student had concerns about the job placement (i.e., doing excessive amounts of repetitive work, or not receiving sufficient amounts of training in the plant) the perceived problems were recorded, investigated and corrective action taken where necessary. If there were any significant issues raised at the interviews a member of faculty and the MA representative would visit the company concerned and address the issue as diplomatically as possible. Companies responded positively to the input and provided alternative training to rectify the problem. Prospects of future employment were raised and discussed at the interviews and the MA representative followed up any employment leads on behalf of the student.

Individual interviews were used for collecting data from the administration of the college, the manufacturers association, and the individual sponsoring companies at the respective sites. A semi-structured interview with the college principal was scheduled eight weeks after the course was finished, giving time for reflection and feed back from the other active stakeholders in the course to be reviewed. The interview consisted of eighteen open ended questions designed to probe the college principal's perceptions of the programme and determine if his expectations were met. The questions were governed by four main themes; 1) to evaluate if the expectations of the programme from college principal's perspective had been met, 2) to determine if the programme had been cost effective, 3) to determine if the extensive communications between the active stakeholders had been beneficial, 4) to determine incurring subsequent and relevant perceptions not related to the first three themes

It was extremely important to the college and other stakeholders that the objectives for the programme were met in order to obtain funding for future programmes. Furthermore, future success of the programme was dependent upon identifying any areas of the programme that may need adjustments to the curriculum or work placements. In addition, it needed to be determined if the programme had been financially viable. These were concerns that guided the creation of the interview questions for the college. It would therefore then be possible to use the data to effectively evaluate how the college administration perceived the programme, and if the programme had met their expectations. Two months after the completion of the course an interview was scheduled with the two MA representatives responsible for coordinating the programme on behalf of the Manufacturing Association, and finding student work placements in the region. Although the same interview questions were used for the MA and the college, additional questions were raised in the manufacturers association interview that focussed on industrial manufacturing concerns rather than on institutional themes. For example, themes that were more relevant to the MA and their membership were, (a) issues raised from the main questions concerning the willingness, or lack of willingness, by companies to become involved in training programmes, (b) initial reluctance from the unions to allow student placements, (c) the gradual cooperation between the relevant unions at the various companies, and (d) why companies were reluctant to choose students without any previous industrial experience.

Before the course ended representatives from each of the thirteen participating companies were asked if they would participate in an interview at least six weeks after the completion of the course to evaluate if the programme had been effective in reducing their initial 'in plant' training for new employees in their maintenance department.

Findings and Discussion

Fast Track was a pilot to determine if a course could be designed and delivered that would reduce the time required to satisfactorily train technical personnel to enter industry. A programme goal was to assist in reducing the skilled labour shortages being experienced by manufacturing industries in the Region and at the same time reduces the local unemployment rate. However, despite the local needs there was reluctance by some companies to participate in the programme that resulted in some difficulty initially in finding a sufficient number of work placements for the students. Understandably some sponsors wanted something more than supplying a training opportunity that could result in them incurring extra costs incurred by resources invested in the student at the weekly training periods so it was not only a disappointment to them if the graduate decided not to accept an offer of employment, but also a financial loss. It may therefore be reasonable to make an agreement with the student that a condition of the placement would be that the student would remain employed with the company, at the regular rate of pay, for an additional 24 weeks after graduating from the programme.

Cost effectiveness is a problem for the community college and it therefore may be a problem to run on a long-term basis unless other formats can be designed that would alleviate the financial inequity. It may be possible to run the programme with an increased number of students that rotate in work placements on a block release system. For example, four weeks in the plant and four weeks in the college. It would help the sponsoring company and the student by enabling some continuity in the plant that is not possible to achieve by one day a week placements, and enable the college to reduce the overall cost by increasing enrolments in the course. However it may be a problem in a rural area because of the limited amount of industry available placements and following employment for the students.

Lessons of cooperation and partnerships were learned by members of both management and trade unions resulting in new levels of mutual understanding about the urgent necessity of skills training, and the need to work together in order to meet the looming skills shortages that threaten not just local industry, but all Canadian industry. Nonetheless there is reluctance on the part of management to include unions in the forming of company training policies. It is counter productive to use vocational education and training only as a bargaining tool during contract negotiations. In Germany and other European countries vocational education and training is regarded as a subject of public interest and as a societal resource. As Streek and Hilbert state "No one doubts that the system of industrial training in its historically evolved form would be unable to function without the fundamental and extensive incorporation of trade unions and employers associations" (Streek & Hilbert 1987 p 53).

In addition to union involvement, to adequately address the problem of technical skilled labour shortages in Canada, it will require a cooperative effort by federal, and provincial government. Extensive Government commitment will be required to raise public awareness of worthwhile careers that are available in the manufacturing sector. Public education programmes will be necessary to attract sufficient numbers of suitably qualified youth entering the workforce for the first time, to pursue a career as a skilled trades person in the manufacturing industry. A significant increase in the size of the existing skilled labour pool will be essential over the next ten years for Canadian industry to remain competitive internationally. However, it is not just Canadian youth that needs awareness training, it is also their parents and career guidance councillors who need to be knowledgeable about the potential of a career as a skilled technical trades person. In addition it would be beneficial to the entire manufacturing sector if Government also increased employers awareness of the necessity to invest in skills training and vocational education, not just worker training that enables an employee to become proficient in one specific skill. If this trend continues the manufacturing industry may well soon be in a situation of short-term gain but long-term loss. It is not only industry that is reluctant to make training commitments. Federal and provincial governments also must share the blame for the present situation and make the financial commitment necessary to enable increasing the levels of vocational technical educational training that is required to meet the approaching skilled labour shortages and so forestall an economic downturn for Canadian manufacturing industries.

It is common in European studies and those from the United States to report a tendency of employers to have a lack of commitment to technical vocational education, or unrealistic expectations of training programmes from those that do make the commitment. The literature reveals that different levels of management want different sets of skills from the same programme but do not wish to support a programme of extended length that would necessary to meet their demands. Companies often criticize educational institutions for including too much theory, and general education, and not enough hands on or specific training. Yet employers complain about the lack of general and academic capacities being taught and at the same time complain about occupational programmes concentrating on specific skills to the detriment of more general or academic skills (Grubb, 1996). As study findings illustrated some companies may have to moderate their demands to enable training programmes to achieve realistic goals thus enabling training institutions to create programmes more to the satisfaction of employers.

However there was unanimous agreement by the company sponsors that the *Fast Track* programme met its objectives and furthermore employers expressed a willingness to participate in future training programmes. These attitudes will hopefully encourage sponsorship for other technical skills training programmes in other skilled trades such as electricians, pipe fitters, and toolmakers.

Conclusion

Fast Track is an example of what can be achieved when the power of rural community cooperation is utilised by stakeholders who have a common goal. The goal for the *Fast Track* programme was to provide entry level trades people that would be suitable for accelerated apprenticeship in the trade of industrial millwright mechanics. The effectiveness of the programme can be judged on the outcome. All graduates of the pilot programme received job offers in the field of plant maintenance. However, it has been my experience that the high cost incurred by technical training programmes makes it extremely difficult for a training institution to deliver high quality technical education in sufficient quantity to meet the needs of the industrial community it serves. Present government funding does not allow for the increased costs incurred by technical training programmes. Consequently the future for technical training must remain uncertain because the mandate of the community college is not to make a profit, but neither should it run at a loss. Therefore it is recommended that government research suitable European policies on vocational education where technical education is considered to be in the domain of public interest and incorporated into public policies and therefore qualify for higher levels of funding from the government.

The findings of the study demonstrated that inexperienced youth in the training programme were marginalized. It is more difficult for younger students without previous industrial experience to obtain a work placement that has a potential offer of employment at the successful completion of the training programme. In a highly competitive environment it is understandable that companies must optimise their resources and endeavour to obtain the highest qualified personnel that are available to them. Nevertheless the inexperienced will never gain experience if they are not allowed in the workplace to acquire the experience that the industry requires of them. Therefore increased financial incentives may be helpful in altering an industrial mindset that has contributed to the present skilled labour shortages and will guarantee that those shortages will continue into the future. Government could perhaps provide financial motivation to small and medium sized companies by adjusting public funding policies.

Government can influence employers by financial subsidy, co-option or many other methods in an attempt to involve employers. Trade unions, however, are involved at the discretion of the employers and are not usually included in making company-training policies. Training is often a contract bargaining tool, but it would be advantageous to include unions in the making of training policies. This could prevent conflict between union and management, as experienced in the *Fast Track* programme, which often prevents college students in industrial training programmes from gaining valuable work experience in unionised plants. A public policy of including specially trained union personnel in the making of company training policies may enable students to obtain work placements in unionised shops, and assist in the creation of a better working relationship between management and the bargaining units in the manufacturing sector.

It will be necessary to increase industry participation in technical skills training programmes if the challenge of the growing skilled labour shortage is to be met. The difficulty in finding sufficient work placements for students in the *Fast Track* programme reflects an industrial mind set that will preclude a level of participation required to meet the challenge. It is therefore recommended that federal and provincial government should fund programmes that will educate employers of the necessity of technical skills training, raise public awareness of the looming skills shortages, and promote career paths that are available in the skilled trades required by the manufacturing sector. Benefits from such programming would be to reduce youth unemployment levels, and subsequently reduce skilled labour shortages in the manufacturing sector.

Although the program was designed for the training requirements of a specific rural area, the methods could be equally appropriate for other geographic areas. It is hoped that the inductive reasoning that was derived from the research will help in the formulation of ideas, and tentative hypothesis, that will encourage further research into methods of rapid delivery systems required for future technical training programs in the other fields of adult education. Applied research that may also enable a meaningful contribution to a successful solution of the skilled labour shortages that are expected for the next decade.

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Barriers to Participation in Adult Education and Training: An Empirical Study towards a Better Understanding of Time Barrier

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Abstract: Many Canadian adults mention lack of time as the reason for not participating in education and training. Using the information from the Time Use Survey, this exploratory study was conducted to assess the extent to which the expressed time barrier is likely linked to real time constraints arising from commitments to work and other roles people assume at their life stage. (*Disclaimer: Opinions in this paper are those of the author's, and thus do not represent those of the Department.)*

Introduction

Access to knowledge and skills development is more closely than ever linked to economic prosperity and social inclusion. Yet, one in five Canadian adults report encountering barriers to the education or training they needed or wanted (HRDC & Statistics Canada, 2001). Cost and lack of time, as consistent with the findings of numerous studies, emerge as the two major deterring factors. Time-related barriers alone affected about 3 million Canadians and prevented more than 1 million Canadian adults from accessing training opportunities in 1997.

As such, the Government of Canada has set itself a goal of helping "adults who want to improve their skills, but who may face difficulty in finding the time or resources to do this while providing for themselves and their families". The target is to see 'at least one million more adults pursue learning opportunities in the next five years"[1]. To achieve this objective, policy developers interested in increasing worker participation in training, for example, may have to decide whether they should promote training activities provided during working hours (HRDC & Statistics Canada, 1997). Education and training providers will need to know whether, in designing the training programs to adults, they must be more sensitive to training scheduling, location, delivery methods and other support mechanisms. In this context, a better understanding of the nature of the time barrier faced by Canadians is of particular importance.

Lack of time for skills development is often defined as a barrier arising from one's situation in life: people may have very little discretionary time due to work, family obligations and other roles at the current stage of their life (Cross, 1981; Rubenson, 1997; Fast, et al., 2001). Conversely, time is not an infinite resource. A wide variety of activities could be competing for the time potentially available for education and training. It is a matter of preference. Therefore, many scholars have suggested that, for many people, the mention of "lack of time" could be mainly a statement of the value they ascribe to education and training and the expected outcome of such an activity (Jonsson & Gähler, 1996; Rubenson, 1997 & 2001; HRDC & Statistics Canada, 2001). However, it remains challenging to empirically determine whether the mention of 'lack of time for training' reflects an objective situation or a simply motivational statement for particular individuals. The difficulty perhaps arises from the lack of data that would allow a detailed study in which people's verbal statements could be linked to their daily activities.

The Time Use Survey, which collects detailed information on paid work, unpaid work (household and family responsibilities), educational activities, personal care (sleeping, eating, washing, etc.), and the time remaining for leisure activities, offers a potential for such studies. By looking at the patterns of time allocation among these competing activities, the impact of participation in skills development on people's daily life can be examined. More interestingly, by matching time use profiles from the Time Use Survey with the profile of AETS Survey respondents, it becomes feasible to explore the relationship between the expressed 'time crunch' for skills development and the real time constraints arising from the individuals' roles and responsibilities. Such is the approach adopted in the present study.

Research Questions

The major objective of this study is to estimate free time for Canadian adults in general and those who indicated to have no time for further training in particular. To do so, the basic strategy is to find the major determinants that influence time allocation patterns and relate time spent among daily competing activities, to the nature of the roles and domestic obligations assumed by adults at each stage of life. Hence, the following specific questions are explored in this study: (1) how do Canadian adults allocate their time for continuing education and training while fulfilling their roles and obligations? (2) What are the major factors influencing Canadians' time use patterns? And (3) how much discretionary time per day do adults who indicated having time barriers likely have?

The emphasis on the discretionary time does not mean to neglect an important fact that time for training is acquired through a variety of ways. As will be illustrated in the findings of the study, Canadian adults gain their time for skills development by cutting back on time for paid work, household chores and other family responsibilities, and even personal care. However, it would be difficult to examine why some adults, for instance, are not able to take time off work for training. Such information does not exist in the databases used for this study. On the other hand, "lack of time for training" certainly has a different connotation if it is mentioned by someone having plenty of time at his/her discretion as compared by someone having little of free time.

Research Methods

Data and the Samples

Databases used in this study are from the 1998 Time Use Survey (GSS, Cycle 12) and the 1998 Adult Education and Training Survey. The study employs a definition of adult population in consistent with the ones used in the publications by Human Resources Development Canada and Statistics Canada on the topic of adult education and training in Canada (see, for example, HRDC & Statistics Canada, 2001). In this definition adult population consists of those aged 17 and over, excluding students who are still involved in their initial cycle of education. Namely, full-time students in the age range of 17 to 24 are excluded[2]. To focus on those who are active or potentially active in the labour market, adults over 65 years are also excluded. This results, with

GSS Cycle 12, in a sample of 8,316 observations, representing about 18.9 million Canadian adults 17-65 years of age. With AETS 1998, the extracted sample contains 26,301 cases, representing 18.6 million Canadians aged 17-65.

Concepts, Terms and Variables

Lack of time for training is often understood as a barrier arising from one's situation in life, such as work, and family responsibilities. A factor analysis of the reasons why some adults did not take the training they were interested, as reported in the 1998 AETS survey, indicates that the mention of "being too busy at work" is significantly correlated with the mention of "inconvenient time or location". Thus, used in this study, the indicator of time related barrier is derived from the responses of the AETS survey respondents who mentioned either one of the two reasons or both.

Major categories of time allocation for adults, as used in the publications by Statistics Canada (see Harvey, et al., 1991; Frederic, 1995; Stone, et al., 1996), are employed in this study, but with some modifications. In order to investigate its impact on other daily activities, time spent on full- or part-time course, and related activities, is therefore used as a separate category. In Statistics Canada's publications, the term, unpaid work, encompasses household chores (meal preparation, cleaning, laundry, vehicle maintenance), childcare and adult care, shopping, and civic, volunteering and related activities. However, in this study, time devoted to civic, volunteering and related activities is considered as part of the discretionary time that could be made available for skills development. Thus, the term, free time or leisure time, includes time spent on entertainment (music, concerts, movies, museums, socializing), sports and hobbies, media (radio, TV, books, magazines, newspapers, telephone, mail), and time devoted to civic, volunteering and related activities. The underlying argument is that the decision to participate in the above-mentioned activities is often made within one's freedom of choice, as compared with responsibilities arising from work and unpaid work.

Data Analysis

To address the research questions guiding this study, adult population sample extracted from the Time Use Survey was divided into three population cohorts: 1) those engaged in both working and training, 2) those taking up full-time studies and 3) those engaged in part-time training only, with each group further divided by gender. Mean lengths of time allocated among paid work, unpaid work, personal care, education, sports and entertainment were estimated and then compared among these groups.

To estimate the discretionary time, multiple regression models were constructed to ascertain the major factors determining the time allocated for unpaid work and personal care. Specifically, to predict time for unpaid work, the dependent variable was defined to include time spent on household chores (meal preparation, cleaning, laundry, vehicle maintenance), childcare and adult care, and shopping. The explanatory variables included age, age squared, physical limitation, gender, children age, number of children, household size, marital status, full- or part-time working schedule, spouse at work or in study, attained level of education. As indicated in the time use literature, age groups at both ends of the profile tend to spend less time for unpaid work; therefore, the relationship between age and time used for unpaid work could take a nonlinear form. Therefore, the factor of age was included as a quadratic: age, the interval variable and age squared. The same set of variables were also employed in the equation modelling the time spent on personal care, defined as time for sleeping, washing, dressing and meals at home.

Lastly, to predict free time on a daily basis for Canadian adults in general, a modified version of the Statistics Canada's major categorization of Time Use is adopted. That is:

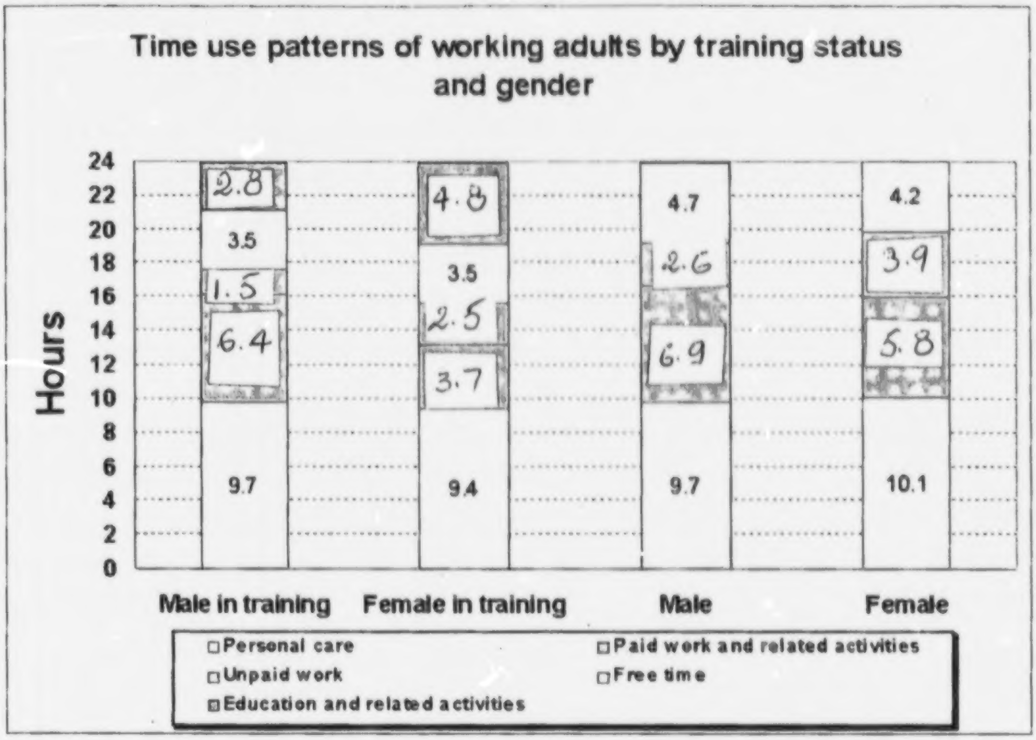
> Free time = 24 hours - [time for total domestic chores (excluding time for volunteering and civic activities) + time for paid work per day + time for personal care + time for training being taken].

Of the four major time use categories, only paid employment time can be derived directly from the AETS data. Time for unpaid work, personal care and training being undertaken has to rely on the findings from the Time Use Survey and be 'imputed' onto the AETS data. Three different methods were used for each of these categories. First, given the little variability exhibited in the average time spent on personal care by different sub-population groups, each adult was assumed to allocate about 10 hours daily for personal care. Second, for adults currently engaged in studies, time allocated for related activities was estimated using information obtained from the Time Use Survey, which was based on gender, current involvement in full- or part-time studies, and employment status. Third, to 'impute' the time used for discharging domestic duties (unpaid work), unstandardized coefficients derived from the regression equation as described were used to match the characteristics of the AETS survey respondents.

Results

Impact of Training on Patterns of Time Allocation

The analyses show that working adults who took part-time courses at the same time, spent an average of 4.1 hours daily on training and related activities, averaged over a seven-day week. This compares with 5.4 hours spent on part-time studies by people not working, and 9.6 hours by people studying full time. Time spent on training (related activities) is often at the expense of other major activities. For working adults, almost half of the training time was gained by spending less time on household chores, watching less T.V and doing less sport or hobby, while another bulk part (44% of the total) was obtained by doing less paid work or taking paid time off.



Gender has an impact on the length of training undertaken and the way time is found for training and related activities. Compared to male participants, female participants on average spent 4.8 hours daily on education/training and related activities, 2 hours more than men did (see Graph1). Using their non-participant counterparts as reference, working females in training gained 44% of their training time by cutting back on paid work, 30% on unpaid work, 15% on personal care and another 15% on time for entertainment, sports, hobbies and watching T.V. In contrast, working males found time for their training mainly by reducing the amount of time devoted to unpaid work and leisure activities – entertainment, sports/hobbies and media. Specifically, 40% of the training time came from doing less unpaid work, 43% from cutting down on time for leisure activities, and only about 18% was drawn from paid work time.

Predicting Discretionary Time for Adults Who Wanted or Needed More Training

The results show only a small amount of the variance – about 5% – in time allocated for personal care is explained by regressing on the variables selected for this exercise. In contrast, the equation predicting time spent on domestic obligations was able to explain up to 25% (Adjusted R^2=24.4) of the variance (See Table 1).

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Table 4. Predicting time allocated for domestic obligations (unpaid work excluding civic and related activities), Canadian adults, aged 17-65, 1997

	Correlation coefficients	Unstandardized Coefficients	s.e.	Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
(Constant)		8.888	22.563		0.394	0.694
Age	0.134	6.41	1.13	0.439	5.672	0.000
Age^2	0.107	-0.062	0.014	-0.345	-4.578	0.000
Child age	0.115	-1.136	0.286	-0.045	-3.969	0.000
Total number of kids	0.298	46.09	2.595	0.254	17.763	0.000
Physical limitation	*0.052*	*5.757*	*5.519*	*0.01*	*1.043*	*0.297*
Female	0.295	84.697	3.717	0.225	22.788	0.000
Household size	*0.139*	*-1.244*	*1.893*	*-0.009*	*-0.657*	*0.511*
Married or living together	0.230	15.504	5.626	0.039	2.756	0.006
Working full-time	-0.195	-94.684	4.387	-0.25	-21.581	0.000
Working part-time	0.079	-43.079	7.21	-0.06	-5.975	0.000
Student and working	-0.124	-85.317	10.604	-0.082	-8.046	0.000
Spouse working	0.207	33.568	5.09	0.088	6.595	0.000
Spouse looking for job	*0.029*	*19.366*	*14.72*	*0.013*	*1.316*	*0.188*
Spouse studying	*-0.013*	*-3.642*	*17.734*	*-0.002*	*-0.205*	*0.837*
High school graduate	0.014	21.19	5.813	0.041	3.645	0.000
Some post-secondary	*-0.064*	*6.948*	*5.545*	*0.014*	*1.253*	*0.210*
Trade certificate	0.035	43.341	6.894	0.067	6.286	0.000
College diploma	0.065	33.73	6.489	0.058	5.198	0.000
University	-0.019	17.648	5.618	0.037	3.141	0.002

R = 0.495
R Square = 0.246
Adjusted R Square = 0.244

Age (including the quadratic term of age), the youngest child age, the total number of kids, gender, marital status, working full- or part-time, educational level (except some post-secondary) and spousal employment status all contributed significantly to the prediction of the time spent on unpaid work. The standardized coefficients further indicate that age factors, number of kids, full-time employment and being a female are among the most significant contributors towards the explained variance.

The results of imputation procedures indicate that, supposing 3 hours of time to be adequate for taking one course on a daily basis, about 78% of those who indicated having no time for training, appear to be above that threshold. More conservatively, assuming 5 hours daily were what is needed for a training course, around 54 % of them would be able to meet that 'time requirement'.

Discussion: Implications for Policy and Practice, and Further Research

To ensure that all Canadians can pursue the learning they need to participate fully in social and economic life, exploratory measures have been developed – for example, Learning Credits (a system of credits for time to take training or time banks and registered training savings plans) and Learning Leave – with a view to eliminating financial, time and other barriers to equitable access to learning opportunities. Training institutions are offering an increasing number of programs that utilize flexible scheduling as well as novel learning technologies – such as web-based, computer-mediated programs – all supposedly to make learning more flexible and manageable. However, the success of these measures will eventually rest on the extent to which they are actually addressing the problems underlying the time related barriers. The results of this study indicate that the nature of these problems is more complex than manifested time factors.

Analyses of the time use data suggest that, when considering time required for further education/training, it is important to take into account all the various time demands, including time for courses as well as time necessary for activities such as homework, breaks and commuting to the training institutions. The data also indicate that more than 50% of courses are usually taken on full-time bases. If these types of training are not offered in alternative manners, this may indeed cause difficulty for working adults who need to work at least part-time to provide for their families and themselves. Furthermore, it is also important to consider gender differences in sharing paid and unpaid work. The analyses indicate working females seem to rely more on being able to take time off work than their male counterparts in order to take training.

However, people mention lack of time for training for a variety of reasons. The results of the imputation exercise suggest that more than 50% of them may actually have more 5 hours of free time per day. Of those having less than 5 hours, 22% of them were engaged either in full-time studies or in part-time work and part-time studies. For them, "lack of time for training" may just be an expression of a scheduling conflict between various training courses of interest to them. A closer look at the family structure and employment situation of those reporting time barriers shows that the individual circumstances vary widely. They range from families of dual earner couples with young kids to unattached, non-employed individuals. The data also indicate, while they were the group most likely to report time barriers, families of dual earners with young kids also appeared to have one of the highest rates of adult education participation, as compared to most other kinds of family structures. Hence, what Jonsson and Gähler (1996) concluded in their study could also be true in the Canadian context, that is: Instead of barriers, that might have to do with cost, lack of time, it is probably differences in expected rewards that can explain why some choose to participate while others remain outside (p.38, Cited in Rubenson, 2001).

The findings and inferences derived from this study must be considered in view of the limitations of the databases used. A major limitation is that the AETS does not collect information on the time dimensions of the training the respondents needed or wanted. It is thus not known whether they were interested in a full-time program or just a single course in their responses. Neither is it known when exactly the training was needed or wanted. Thus the conclusions of the study are mainly based on the assumptions that could be erroneous. For example, due to the incomplete information, we assumed that time use patterns remain fairly stable. We also assumed that part-time studies were what people had in mind when they reported time barriers. In addition, analyses of the time required for training indicate that training usually requires blocks of time. By relating free time to the time required for taking training, we implicitly suggest that the free time projected is available in blocks. Further analysis is needed to make sure that time available is not in fact scattered throughout the day.

Another major limitation is the small sample size of the Time Use Survey (GSS Cycle 12). This effectively prevents more disaggregated and in-depth analyses of sub-populations, which in turn makes it difficult to have more fine-tuned imputations on paid work-related activities, education and related activities.

Endnotes

1. See the 2001 Speech from the Throne, available at: http://www.sft-ddt.gc.ca/sftddt_e.htm and Human Resources Development Canada. (2002). *Knowledge Matters: Skills and Learning for Canadians.* Ottawa: Author, Catalogue SP-482-02-02.

2. Strictly speaking, full-time students over 19 enrolled in elementary or secondary programs and full-time students subsidised by employers should be retained but such information is unavailable in GSS Cycle 12.

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Gendered Leadership Experience of Chinese Women Managers

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With more women doing paid work and claiming management positions, at least in the junior and middle levels, women's leadership has become an increasingly popular research area in North America and Europe. Studies can be roughly classified into two categories, both of which are closely connected with general leadership research: feminine leadership; and barriers women face when working as formal leaders. For example, some studies (e.g. Kouzes and Ponser, 1997) concluded that transformational leadership (Burns, 1978, and Bass and Avolio, 1993) is the leadership style demanded in today's organizations. Studies on feminine leadership concluded that women managers are more likely to apply a transformational leadership style (e.g. Loden, 1985, and Bass and Avolio, 1997). In light of these studies, researchers on barriers facing women managers attempt to find reasons in societal, structural and individual realms for the under-representation of women managers, despite acknowledging that women seem more suited to leadership roles in contemporary organizations.

While extensive studies have been done in North America and Europe, little such knowledge has been gained in the Mainland China context. This study is an attempt explore women managers' leadership experience in Mainland China, with the hope that more researchers will join the effort.

The study was carried out in the specific organizational context of private-owned enterprises in Mainland China since they operate mainly by the market mechanism, unlike state-owned enterprises, and therefore closely resemble the Western industrial enterprises. In addition, under the current economic reform, private enterprises are expected to replace the state-owned enterprises, becoming the backbone of the Mainland China economy (Zhang and Ming, 2000).

In this study, ten women middle managers between the age of 25 and 45, working in eight private enterprises of different sizes and in various industries were interviewed. Their professions include general management, sales, marketing, finance and accounting, software development project management, and human resources. In order to see how their work affected their family life, special attention was paid when selecting participants to ensure a mixture of single, married without children and married with children. The study was conducted by interviews following loose guidelines with an effort to solicit their active participation.

The study focused on two research questions:

1. What are these women managers' perceptions of leadership?

2. How has being a woman affected their leadership experience?

Constructing the concept of managerial leadership in this specific context

The perception on the positions with official leadership responsibilities will affect a woman's intention to enter those positions, and affect upper managers to make decisions to recruiting women for such positions. Since there is no term in Chinese to convey the meaning of western style leadership, the aim of understanding leadership perception of women managers was achieved through exploring their ideas on the differences between "managers" and "leaders," and through analyzing how they carried out their responsibilities as managers.

In contemporary Western management literature, *management* refers to the traditional command and control approach of managers, while *leadership* is the process among a team through which team members set visions, are motivated, and are developed to achieve the visions. With this understanding, leaders appear in all organizational echelons, as long as they provide such leadership.

This study showed that the participants understood managers and leaders as being two distinctive groups of people. While manager sometimes refers to those who have official titles and control other people's work, the term "manager" is usually used as middle managers. On the contrary, the term "leader" refers to the people on the highest rung of an organization's administration hierarchy. Besides the position differences, "leader" connotes being authoritarian, which is not extant with the term "manager." Finally, leaders are believed to possess the kind of qualities, competence and temperament that women seldom have. Clearly, to the participants, "manager" is more gender neutral, "leader" is conveyed with much stronger masculine terms. In this sense, the participants commonly agree that as women, they would make good managers, but they would not be able to work as leaders.

Even though by their own definition, the women managers did not regard themselves as leaders, leadership was a crucial element necessary for them to fulfil their responsibilities as managers. Commonly demonstrated leadership behaviors include winning respect and trust from employees; resourcefulness; coaching employees and creating a pleasant working environment. From these leadership behaviors, themes of their leadership styles as women middle managers emerge. To briefly summarize, there are four characteristics of their leadership: hierarchical but not authoritarian; transactional with care; valuing relationships; and leadership based on personal integrity instead of charisma.

Understanding the impact of being women on their leadership experience. Social forces shaping gender identity of Mainland Chinese women

In order to understand how being women affects their leadership experience, we need to first get a sense of being an urban woman in contemporary Mainland China. There are three major social forces that significantly shape these women's gender identity. The first force is the China's longest feudalism history and its legacy on today's society. The feudalistic tradition regards women as inferior to men in all respects. They were considered psychologically weak and intellectually undeveloped. With its deep roots in the culture, this belief is still held by many Chinese men and women. Even some of the participants thought it was true to some extent.

The second force is the socialist movement, since the foundation of socialist China in 1949. In this movement, women's equal rights have been stipulated in the constitution. "Equal work and equal pay" is one of the primary rights that are protected by Chinese laws. Urban women in Mainland China have been encouraged and required to participate in paid work. For most jobs, especially technical and management jobs, part time work is not an option. To work full time is the norm for Mainland Chinese urban women, whether single or married, with or without children. Research (e.g. Stockman, Bonney and Sheng, 1995, and Second Survey 2000) about Chinese women's work motives show that participating paid work not only meets the survival needs, it is regarded as a crucial factor for women's sense of worth and self-fulfillment. A good portion of Chinese working women prioritize their work as equal to or higher than family (Kerr, Delahanty and Humpage, 1996 and Liang, 1994). In such social reality, to be a working woman is not only a legitimate identity, it is actually the only legitimate.

However, Chinese women's equal rights with men are problematic in the following ways: First, their equal rights were granted by the state, not through women's struggle based on the awakened consciousness of women's submissive status. Also, by the time women's equal rights were written into law, it was commonly acknowledged that Chinese women's liberation had been achieved. Gender, therefore, has not been an angle for making sense of social issues. Under these circumstances, "Gender became an unmarked and neutralized category, its role as a vessel of self-identity was greatly diminished (Yang, 1999, p. 41). Second, the equal rights that Chinese women have been enjoyed are not based on the differences between men and women. Rather, equality means sameness, with masculinity as the norm (Li, 1997). Third, the equality exists more in law books than in reality. There has been little organized effort to dispel the negative stereotypes about women, and the actual gender discriminatory practices go on without sanction. This gender duality – the espoused equality and the practical inequality (Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998) – has been the principal mechanism sustaining the inequality between men and women in Mainland China.

The final major social force shaping Chinese women's gender identity is the economic reform that China is undergoing now. Concurrent with the economic reform, the social ideology is changing as well. The image of "traditional Chinese women" with the virtues of being gentle, caring, supportive and sacrificing for their husbands' career is accelerating in popularity through mass media and welcomed by society, especially Chinese men (Thakur, 1997). Besides, the media strongly promote another concept of the ideal women, in which they are depicted as strong and capable workers, as well as nurturing wives and mothers (Kerr et al., 1996).

These social forces cause an ambiguity about Mainland Chinese women: while even they believe they are inferior to men, the dominant discourses state their equality. They are expected to be independent and hardworking workers, to achieve career success, but at the same time are anticipated to be obedient and sacrifice their own careers for the sake of their husband's. This ambiguity leads to the paradoxical gender identity of women in Mainland China, how they are treated in and outside of workplaces, and how they treat themselves.

Gendered leadership experience

Being a woman is not a particular barrier upon first entering the management ranks if she performs well as a regular employee and demonstrates a strong aspiration for her career. The barriers raise when they try to enter senior management positions, which they define as "leader" positions. The barrier comes from their belief that normally, only men possess the necessary qualities of being leaders. And this belief is reinforced by the preference for men when senior managers make promotion decisions.

While obtaining management positions, being a woman has a significant impact on carrying out their leadership responsibilities. Three of the four characteristics of their leadership styles reflect such impacts:

Hierarchical but not authoritarian. Even though the cultural norm determines that leadership was hierarchical – managers are supposed to possess better technical skills and more acumen in business and the world in general, and are expected to protect their employees – a woman's leadership style did not have the authoritarian element, as defined in Paternal Leadership studies of male leaders (Farh and Cheng, 2000). The participants explained that if women applied a more authoritarian style, they would encounter resistance from their subordinates. However, their male counterparts usually employed the authoritarian style to great effect.

Transactional with care. With the limitations that the enterprises imposed on middle managers, women managers appiedy a transactional leadership style, in the sense that they offered desirable rewards in exchange for an employee's good performance. However, these women managers expressed particular care in the interest of their employees. In addition to providing tangible rewards, most made an effort to get to know their employees, and to pay attention to their emotional needs. They also regarded coaching and developing their employee's skills as an important part of their job as managers, which their male counterparts seemed not to share.

Valuing relationship. In Chinese culture, particular attention is paid to relationships in all social contexts. Establishing relationships with superior managers, peer managers, and external business partners is an indispensable part of a manager's work. Here, these women managers encountered problems because most of the people they need to build relationships with are men. The women managers felt that they could not have as close a relationship with their male superiors as their male counterparts, because this would raise suspicion that they could obtain favors by using their sexuality. However, close relationship with upper managers was very important in order to secure the resources to achieve the team goals. In this sense, employees preferred to work with male managers. Maintaining quality communications with male peer managers was difficult because men preferred to interact with men, and made no effort to include women managers into their informal structures. While men and women managers had different ways of communicating, women managers were expected to adapt to the male style. The relationship women managers had with each other was problematic, too. Due to negative stereotypes about women, the women managers generally regarded other women managers as less competent and less valuable allies. Furthermore, "Under conditions where resources and opportunities are perceived to be scarce for women, relationships between women may also be more competitive" (Ely, 1994, p. 137). Since enterprises demand more lateral cooperation, and building relationships with peer managers is an important aspect of leadership responsibilities, the women managers were at a disadvantage. The relationship with external business partners is also hard to establish and maintain, because negative stereotypes about women made it more difficult for the women managers to win their trust. Plus, on some occasions, there was the danger that the women manager's were expected to entertain their male business partners in social and recreational activities, which caused great discomfort. The challenge to establish relationship with external business partners not only caused hardship for women managers to do their current work, it became a barrier for their advancement into upper management positions, since at that level, building and maintaining such relationships will be a major responsibility.

The last characteristic of their leadership style - personal integrity versus charisma – does not seem to be informed by gender factors.

Consistently, the managers had not thought about how being women affected their work. For most, being a manager does not conflict with their ideas of being an ideal woman. On the contrary, some stated it actually facilitated their goal of being an ideal woman, because success was a symbol of independence, and the result of one's intelligence and diligence, considered indispensable elements of being an ideal woman. However, they also agreed the ideal women should also fulfil their responsibilities at home, which made those with young child feel guilty because other family members, usually grandparents, took care of housework and childcare.

They also tended not to interpret their experience in terms of gender. They generally agreed that in their enterprises, they were treated fairly because there were systems, e.g. performance evaluation systems, to ensure the same treatment as men. If differences were noticed, they were inclined to reason that they were less competent than men. Ironically, the lack of consciousness of their discriminatory treatments seemed benefit these women managers. Since the women managers admitted that they were less competent than men in general, they worked harder to compensate the imagined inadequacy, which means they achieved more than most of their male colleagues. To some extent, these achievements facilitated their entrance into management positions. Also, denying the existence of gender discriminatory practice in their enterprises spared them the sense of being victimized. They tended to attribute their success at work, or the lack of it, to individual efforts, rather than external factors. This "internal locus of control" made them more active in developing their competence and improving their qualities.

Despite these benefits, the unawareness of the structural discrimination and the acceptance of negative stereotypes about women are detrimental. Failing to recognize how gender distinctions were caused by structures, these were regarded as individual actions. The women managers attributed their success to their exceptional personal effort. They believed that as long as women were willing to make the kind of effort and sacrifice that they made, theoretically all could achieve career success. Instead of challenging the negative stereotype about women, the unfriendly arrangements at work for people with family responsibilities and the lack of support for women to achieve as much as men, they ascribed the seeming lower achievement of women to their lack of competence and lower desire to achieve.

This belief caused four serious problems. First, when women managers made the same arrangements as their male counterparts to under-use female subordinates and spent less time to develop them, the women employees' under-achievement became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Second, failure to recognize the forces in the system that thwart their career development would raise doubt about their competence. This doubt will predictably lead to frustrations and harm their sense of self-efficacy. Third, the assumption of men's superior competence would limit women's desire for career development and make them achieve less than they were capable of. Finally, accepting the fact that men were more powerful than women in organizations made it more difficult for women to turn to each other for support. The acceptance of the negative stereotypes about women and the lack of awareness of the institutionalized hostility toward women hampered the potential solidarity among women, to take actions to fight for the real rights they deserved, not the lip service they had been receiving.

The purpose of the study is to raise consciousness about women's gender identity and to provide the lens through which women managers can view their work and life experience, by shedding light on the male-dominated structures hostile to women. The awareness will help women managers to make a deliberate and informed choice of the kinds of relationships they want to build with men and women in and out of their enterprises, and to make an effort to change the current systems and structures that are unfavorable to women.

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ROUNDTABLES

No Contest on the Terrain

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Abstract: In this roundtable we will explore the reasons for the apparent lack of contestation in two areas of public policy; labour relations and children's benefit policy. We will share our research on the "production" of contingent workers and poor children in Ontario.

The roundtable will explore the lack of apparently increasing contestation in crucial areas of public policy, particularly, labour relations and children's benefits policies. The living conditions of a majority of citizens in western liberal democracies are powerfully impacted by the web of government social policies such as social welfare, health care and education so one might expect much more vigorous resistance to cutbacks in these areas than we are currently experiencing.

Public policy is normally determined by a process of social bargaining, a process that includes a contest of class, regional, and other interests. The State and corporate interests usually emerge as overall winners. However, to ensure public consent, compromises with other groups get made-depending on the bargaining power of the contestants. So what happens when the affected constituencies have no bargaining power themselves or have no one to bargain for them?

This is important for adult educators concerned with social justice because in the absence of contested bargaining there will continue to be intensifying exploitation and expanding exclusion of marginalized people (workers and children).

We believe, that a contest in the public policy arena requires an agency which has the will and capacity to disturb the alignment of political and ideological forces responsible for regressive and oppressive public policies. Such an agency may be composed of organizations and individuals which represent a constituency of interest and have sufficient resources to influence political processes. It also requires that such an agency take a clear and unequivocal public position that commits itself to action.

The absence of either one of these conditions almost always results in a clear loss for the less powerful. For example when the 60 hour work week was introduced by the Conservative Government of Ontario last year, there was little contest from the organized labour movement,the most likely and capable agent of resistance.

In the case of children's benefits, however,the difficulty is that there is no agency which is able to contest the situation despite the clear articulation of the problem and the solutions from many community and advocacy groups.

Advancing new-liberalism seems to have created a situation in which these necessary conditions for effective progressive social bargaining have diminished, disappeared, become extremely difficult to create, or even, in some cases become unthinkable. A culture of insecurity grows while interlocked vulnerabilities make the various resistances necessary to progressive bargaining less likely.

The neo-liberal/neo-conservative ideological and cultural offensive has made it difficult, too, for an "agency" to articulate and get a hearing for the moral imperatives of increasing social equality- the very moral claims needed to ground a commitment to action.

We think it useful to look at the situation of contingent workers and poor children because the labour movement is a historical agent of progressive social bargaining which retains both resources for action and some credibility, while the suffering of children might still be thought, even in the time of Mike Harris (and Ernie Eves), to have a claim on the body politic.

In this round table we will share our research on the "production" of contingent workers and poor children in Ontario. We will recount stories about organizing interventions at the local level and attempts to create contests around these issues. Maybe we are looking for the agency in the wrong places. We hope that the participants will help us identify the reasons for the lack of contest and suggest ways to infuse some spark into adult educators, so that when push comes to shove there is someone to do the shoving.

Gender Role Socialization and Inequality

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This roundtable presentation is about "Gender Role Socialization and Inequality." In keeping with the conference theme, we wish to explore how adult education can challenge public policy by examining the process of gender role socialization as it relates to the workplace. We will also examine how the development of gender role theories and achievement motivation models have been shaped, and continue to be shaped, by the mass media, which includes television, print media, and new media. We will utilize a feminist discursive framework and methodology to examine each of these areas. Most of the empirical research on issues of public policy has not adequately addressed theories of gender role socialization and its impact in the workplace.

We will begin with a discussion of theoretical aspects of gender role socialization, gender differences, notions of masculinity/femininity/androgyny. Gender Role theory posits that gender roles are socially provided script for individual behaviors first learned and then enacted. Even though there are critiques of gender role theories as a form of social determinism, stressing the way individuals are trapped in stereotypes (Connell, 1987), and of the negligence about the function that individual agency and resistance have in the process of the socialization (Carr, 1998), the crucial part that socialization plays in the role learning process is extensively acknowledged. Parents, schools, and mass media are the major forces in the socialization.

We will first examine the mass media by looking at television as a means of gender role socialization. An accumulating body of research has demonstrated that knowledge about gender begins in early childhood. The gender constancy stage has been researched extensively (Anderson, Collins, Luecke-Aleksa, 1995). We will look at studies that relate television to the gender role socialization process. We examine the correlation between television viewing and the extent of stereotypical gender evaluations in children. We will also see that there are many conflicting opinions on the effects of television viewing on children that many interested parties try to influence their views in order to preserve their position. We will talk about research that shows how unequally males and females are represented on television.

After examining the impact of television viewing on the gender role socialization process of children, we will discuss how the print media's representation of women may serve to reinforce sex role stereotypes. One of the ways in which society communicates its ideologies, values, and beliefs is through the various forms of print media. Discourse in the print media consists of words and images that espouse an understanding of the world and the status of men and women within the world. The print media can be regarded as a form of cultural production where hegemonic norms and values are created and reinforced (Ryfe, 1999). It can be argued that print media organizations are inherently gendered since they have been conceptualized through processes that reflect its control by men and as such represents their ideologies, perspectives, and beliefs. This contributes to the both the lack of representation and a misrepresentation of women. Increased public awareness may help to change the policies associated with the regulation of the print media.

In addition, we will discuss how new media technology contributes not only to the perception of gender role but also to the reproduction of gender inequality. Lips (2001) argues that the power inequality in our society is due to differential to resources - such as education and technological access. Technology is associated with power and has been historically constructed as masculine based on assumptions of essentialism. New media technology was first introduced to young males and the gender gap has become of major importance, globally and locally. Power is maintained and controlled through the transformative effects of new media technology (McLuhan 1964). Many women are excluded through prescriptive technology, allocated to the periphery of work in factory-like "pink collar" work as compliant, contingent extensions of technology. Ursula Franklin (1984) asks, "Will women change technology or will technology change women?" We pose the same question for your reflection and action.

Gender role socialization might affect the power and achievement motives of people which will in turn influence their career-related decisions. The drive of human nature to excel and succeed comes form the tendency to need and to seek particular outcomes (Lips, 2001). The strength of the need to achieve and the need to avoid failure is different within every individual. The power and achievement motive are two types of motives that fuel these needs. Understanding that power and achievement are intertwined, forming an equation that equals success is critical when examining the differences in men and women.

The importance placed on socially defined sex-roles on behavior has become an area of great concern. Needs, goals, and self-concept are the product of an abundant amount of lifelong experiences, beginning with childhood, thus it is central when examining the role of socialization in explaining the approaches to achievement of men and women (differences and/or similarities) that the value which they place upon it be the greater concern. Keeping in mind that "traditional" roles are not exclusive to one meaning and/or context, acknowledging the diversity of such a concept as it changes across time and space, culture and religion as well as familial relations.

In conclusion, our goals are to create an awareness of how the socialization process impacts gender roles and its resulting inequality in the workplace. We seek to identify ways to bring balance to the gender socialization process, while challenging public policies to address these issues. Hopefully this awareness will be translated into the process of policy making at different levels in all the various domains that we touched on in our presentation.

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Researching the Research: A Self-Reflective Case Study of a Community-Driven Collaborative Project

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Introduction

The project described in this paper was initiated by a women's centre within an inner city, urban neighborhood. The project had two complementary goals. Our primary goal was to talk with women who lived in the community in order to better understand their educational needs, their reasons for accessing (or not accessing) existing educational options, and their recommendations for educational programming. Reports have been prepared that summarize our primary findings for presentation to different audiences (e.g., community members; community-based service providers). A second, critical part of our project, however, was to conduct a self-reflective case study of our collaborative processes in order to: (1) describe our community-initiated research project, and (2) generate constructive feedback and advice for effectively and respectfully undertaking research initiatives in communities. This paper presents what we learned in this project about conducting respectful, equitable, community-driven research.

In order to achieve our primary objective (i.e., consulting women in the community regarding existing and desired educational options), three women came together from three different organizations to co-coordinate the project. These women were from: (1) the community's women's centre; (2) a local learning disabilities association, and (3) an education faculty at a university. Next, an advisory committee was established comprising community members, personnel from community support agencies, and university personnel. Finally, three women were hired to serve as co-researchers, two from the inner-city community, and one with experience in community-based research. These co-researchers analyzed and summarized findings from individual interviews and focus groups. Their summaries were pulled together to produce the final primary research reports.

The Self-reflective Case Study

Many researchers have argued that collaborative research is preferable to traditional research because all participants are involved in each stage of a study, and the usual hierarchical relationship between *researcher* and *researched* is broken down (e.g., Chataway, 1997; Simonson & Bushaw, 1993). However, many researchers have also described challenges inherent in conducting participatory research. For example, Austin and Baldwin (1992) note that true collaboration between researchers and community members "raises issues of power, influence, professional identity and integrity" (p. 2). As a result, a challenge exists in fairly distributing power and credit among individuals from different institutions. Among the challenges that Dirom (2000) describes are a lack of fit between community issues and narrow specializations common in universities, universities' reluctance to fund research that is relevant to communities, the difficulty of sharing power and decision-making, differences in modes of work between universities and communities, and the problems communities might have when working within systems that "tend to foster competitive and individualistic values" (p. 21). As a final example, Simonson and Bushaw (1993) caution that communities may not actually be empowered within collaborative projects. To address these types of challenges, Dirom recommends establishing clarity regarding the goals and terms within university-community partnerships, flexibility, openness to new ways of doing research, and ongoing assessment of the processes. Building from this prior research, the project team established what was hoped to be a fair, transparent, self-critical, and dynamic approach that would circumvent challenges encountered in previous projects. This self-reflective case study was designed to evaluate the success of those efforts.

Research Processes. To collect data for the case study, one of this paper's authors interviewed co-coordinators, co-researchers, and the members of the advisory committee (at one or several points in time). In addition, the case study researcher attended and documented advisory committee meetings. Additional data sources included co-researcher summary reports, advisory committee minutes, records of other meetings and correspondence, administrative records, and documents describing community organizations and educational opportunities. Three researchers collaboratively reviewed these data to identify emergent themes, using a variation of the constant comparative method (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998).

Research Findings and Conclusions

Successes. Project team members identified many successes experienced in the project. For example, the three co-coordinators described how they worked together flexibly and supportively. Moreover, the three reflected that they were able to effectively share their individual expertise and establish useful "divisions of labour." Team members perceived each other to be respectful, flexible, and willing to adapt and make changes. The advisory committee played a formative and meaningful role ("not just a rubber stamp"), and advisory meetings invited respectful, productive discussions with open sharing of perspectives and ideas. Project team members personally gained (e.g., insights) through the process of collaboration.

Challenges. While the co-coordinators and advisory committee worked well together, the three co-researchers had difficulty working effectively as a team. Their effectiveness was undermined by poor communication, different working styles, and an imbalance in privilege, skills, and resources. Co-researchers thought that more group-building and training at the beginning of the project would have helped them to work better together. Bureaucratic requirements (e.g., for cumbersome consent forms), unwieldy structures (e.g., for paying community researchers), and a shortage of funds also created barriers for project team members. In spite of considerable efforts, difficulties were also encountered in establishing and sustaining connections with the First Nations community.

Critical Issues & Conclusions. A key concern of project team members was that the findings from the primary project be of use to the community, especially to the women whose insights, knowledge and experiences informed the findings. Emphasis was given to the need for research findings to be owned and adopted by the community, rather than sitting on a shelf or being recognized only in institutional contexts (e.g., by the University). Further, although project partners worked towards common goals, each also had to remain cognizant of her individual accountabilities (e.g., to communities, organizations or institutions). Advice for future community research collaborations centred on the need for valuing and sharing expertise from different contexts and "locations." In this project, collaboration was successful when differences were valued, when people looked beyond categorizations (stereotypical or systemic) to flexibly work together on common goals, when project goals were negotiated openly, and when team members were willing to learn and adjust their thinking to accommodate varying perspectives. Specific advice included creating collaborative spaces wherein diverse life and professional experiences would be valued, and within which people could be supported to work productively together. In interviews and meetings, project team members often described ways in which, in this project, these recommendations were successfully enacted.

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Letters to the Editor(s): An Open Forum on *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*

Jane Dawson, Dorothy Lander, Leona English, Allan Quigley (St. Francis Xavier)
Shauna Butterwick, Kjel Rubenson, Tom Sork (University of British Columbia)

In January, 2002, *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* moved from St. Francis Xavier University to the University of British Columbia. This begins yet another chapter in the development of our association's journal and provides the membership with an opportunity to reflect on how our journal is doing.

The CJSAE was begun in 1986 by the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education. With a Canadian-base but an international scope, it has grown to become an established adult education journal of research and theory in the field. It is published twice annually; all articles have abstracts printed in both official languages of Canada; and the annual fall issue carries a listing of the country's masters and doctoral theses/dissertations in adult education, in turn creating the only on-going database of its kind. Through time, the CJSAE has published special issues dedicated to: feminist pedagogy, critical theory, the state of adult education research in Canada, adult education in the new millennium and, most recently, adult literacy. The CJSAE now has a Board of some 50 Consulting Editors who conduct the (double-blind) peer review process. These reviewers include leading adult education scholars from Australia, New Zealand, the U.K., Sweden, Malta, South Africa, the United States, and Canada. Our journal now has some 170 subscribers and, through the membership of CASAE, approximately 180 members also receive copies of the journal. Therefore, it is received bi-annually by some 350 readers in many parts of the world.

The former editors, the Antigonish Editorial Co-operative, and the current editors at the University of British Columbia, are not alone in believing our journal is not only well established, but is one of the best in the entire field. Yet, to our chagrin, our 2002 SSHRC grant proposal was turned down—a decision now being appealed. The SSHRC decision was, in part, on the grounds that, "The Committee had serious concerns about the specificity of the journal. It concluded that the journal's field of investigation was very broad, possibly too broad, in that a number of articles could be published in other refereed journals. Therefore, it encouraged the Editorial Board to reflect on the distinctiveness of the objectives of this journal."

Should the CJSAE Board be seeking to narrow the journals' field of investigation? Should our journal be seeking to define itself in some ways that are more unique to our field? Is this SSHRC decision a naïve reflection on what our field is all about--denying the logic of the SSHRC Committee--or is there actually something different that should be taking place with the editorial policies of the CJSAE? This will be one of the questions to be discussed at this roundtable. We hope you will join us to look at the past, and ahead to the future, of our association's journal in this open forum.

GATS:
The New Political Economy of Adult Education

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Capilano College and the University of British Columbia

This Roundtable focuses on how the work of adult education is affected by the political and economic context in which we operate, namely the emerging global political economy. I will focus on the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) as one artifact of this economy. In the Roundtable itself, I will talk about the effects the GATS will likely have on my own work as a literacy instructor at Capilano College in North Vancouver. I invite other Roundtable participants to engage in a collective project of making the GATS something we can all both access and resist. My written submission outlines the main points of the GATS and how it effects the relationship between adult education, social policy, and civil society.

International trade agreements are a mechanism for the globalization of neo-liberal policies. These agreements have profound implications for the relationship of adult education to civil society. To focus on one example, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) will make it increasingly difficult for governments to establish educational policies based on non-commercial values. This agreement will also make it increasingly difficult for civil society groups, such as communities of adult educators and/or learners, to have any influence on educational policy-making.

The GATS was created in the 1994 Uruguay round of international trade negotiations. Unlike the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade, which governs international trade in goods, the GATS is not about trade in any regular sense. That's because services are not items that can be provided through normal notions of trade. As one Vancouver activist said recently, the three most important things to understand about the GATS are: "It is not about trade. It is not about trade. And, it is not about trade" (M. Dobbin, personal communication, February 3, 2002). Rather, the GATS is an investment agreement like the defeated Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI). Griffin Cohen (2000a) explains that the GATS inherently treats services, like education, as though their main function were as investment vehicles for international corporations (p. 1).[1]

The GATS 'levels the playing field' for corporate providers of services like education by getting government out of the way. *All* GATS rules are about constraining the powers of government; *none* of these rules address the need for corporate accountability. Ed Broadbent said recently, "Without exception, equal rights mean that governments must intervene to correct what would otherwise be the unequal playing field created by the market economy" (E. Broadbent, speech delivered to the B.C. CAUT Hearings on Post-Secondary Education, March 17, 2002). By taking away government's ability to intervene in the market, the GATS removes our ability to guarantee that our adult education systems reflect non-commercial values such as accessibility, accountability, and relevancy to the communities and learners with whom we work. Under the GATS, we lose the power to guarantee equal rights to education.

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[1] For all of my analysis, I am especially indebted to the work of Ellen Gould (in conversation) and Dr. Marjorie Griffin Cohen (see references).

Is Adult Education Protected?

The one article in the GATS that seems to protect the public sector is inadequate to protect public adult education. Art. I(3) excludes "services supplied in the exercise of government authority" as long as that service is supplied "neither on a commercial basis nor in competition with other suppliers." Public services are thus excluded from the GATS only if they have *no* commercial aspects and *no* private sector competition.

This exclusion clearly does *not* apply to the adult education. Numerous private operators already work in most aspects of the adult education field, often in direct competition with public providers for the same grants. Institutions like community colleges are also being privatized from within, as act more like entrepreneurs to compete in the private sector and to meet the corporate-style outcomes demanded by governments. The problem is that the more a public sector comes to resemble the private, the more hold the GATS has on that sector. The government authority exclusion will therefore not apply to this sector, and adult education services will feel the full impact of the GATS disciplines.

Implications for Adult Education

The GATS makes no distinction between public or non-profit services and services provided on a for-profit basis (Sinclair, 2000, p. 25). Art. XVI, the Market Access rule, states that members cannot enact any regulations that limit the supply of a service. Nor can they restrict the supply of a service on the basis of whether the provider is public, private, or not for profit. Art. XVII on National Treatment states that each WTO member nation must accord service suppliers of all other member nations treatment no less favourable than it accords its own "like" service suppliers. Such measures are designed to force us to treat all suppliers of 'like' services in a 'like' manner, regardless of how those services are provided.

As Griffin Cohen (ibid.) points out, when governments are forced to treat private education institutions 'like' public ones, "extraordinary changes will be demanded of the way education is provided in Canada" (p. 2). If government grants were required to apply equally to private and public institutions, the amounts available to the public institutions would need to dramatically decrease" (ibid.). In turn, this would threaten, for example, the tuition-free status of adult basic education in many Canadian provinces.

Further, an influx of foreign service providers will erode the community-based aspect of our adult education programs. Given the huge market for internet delivery of educational services, distance education will take a much more prominent role in adult education. As commercial providers are accountable to their own shareholders, rather than to the community in which they operate, the privatization of this sector will also mean a loss of community accountability. If taken to the extreme, the GATS could leave us with little or no influence over the educational opportunities in our own adult learning systems.

What's Next?

The most invasive GATS rules currently only apply to those sectors that WTO member nations have voluntarily submitted to GATS disciplines. Canada has not yet submitted education at any level, and so we are not yet positioned to experience the full force of the GATS. However, this position could change rapidly. All GATS member nations have until March 2003 to lay their offers on the table, and GATS negotiations themselves are set to end on January 01, 2005 (VDLC, Oct. 17, 2001). The USA has made clear its interest in expanding GATS coverage of the adult education sector, so we can expect pressure from them (WTO, 2000, Dec. 18).

Moreover, the voluntary nature of the GATS is slated for change in upcoming rounds of negotiations. Business lobbies are currently trying to expand the "Domestic Regulation" clause (Art. VI) so that it effects all sectors. Art. VI gives the WTO authority to establish "any necessary disciplines" to ensure that government intervention in the trade in services is "not more burdensome than necessary to ensure the quality of the service" This broad and vague clause takes aim at all regulatory measures currently known to government -- even those that treat foreign suppliers the same as local ones. It is hard to imagine any public sector service that could survive this threat.

The GATS has a ratchet effect, meaning that any aspect of our education system that we give up now, cannot be re-claimed in the future. Public engagement on the GATS is therefore of crucial importance. For all of us who doubt our power to effect change, the words of US trade ambassador Charlene Barshevsky should be inspiration to us all. At the APEC conference recently, she identified what she called "the single greatest threat to the multilateral trading system" as this: "the absence of public support for that system and for those policies which have created that system" (cited in Griffin Cohen, 2000b, p. 137). That's *us* she is talking about!

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Public Sector Modernization and Downsizing

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In the early 1970s, the US automobile industry "downsized" their car size and engine capacity in response to the prevailing oil crisis and environmental concerns. During the early 1980s, this manufacturing term was applied to organizational initiatives that focused primarily on dismissing people from their jobs (D. Collins, 2000). Over the past decade, the Federal Public Service and the Ontario Public Service have both been dramatically transformed through "downsizing", at a great human cost. The governments' "modernization" initiatives were processes used to reduce costs through workforce reduction and organizational restructuring. During the May 1985 Budget presentation, the commitment by the federal government to reduce the size of the federal public service was arguably the forerunner to this transformation. The planned reduction at that time of some 15,000 civil servants by fiscal year 1990/1991 was geared towards 'doing more with less'. However, by the early 1990s, the public sector had grown to represent more than half of the total national output. With the need to control the growth of the public debt taking center stage, it was inevitable that a more strident process of modernization and downsizing would have taken place. The changes that were apparent in the early 1990s really got underway fully at the federal level in 1993 and became more focused and structured by 1995. In his budget speech of February 27, 1995, the finance minister announced that the federal public service would be reduced by 45,000 positions over three years. Likewise, the Chairman of the Ontario Management Board announced on April 11, 1996, that the Ontario public service would be reduced by 10,600 positions over two years.

The fact that governments employ such large numbers of the population makes the human resources dimension of any public sector restructuring, a particularly important national activity. However, given the environment that existed and the economic, political, and social pressures, it would appear that the country had few options for a speedy and sustainable solution to the fiscal challenges. The advent of the 1990s heralded an economic recession, a mushrooming federal debt, and continuing deficits. Business and consumer confidence had reached all-time lows. Additionally, the increasing impact of globalization through cross-border economic, socio-cultural and political relations was making it clear that Canada would have to deal expeditiously with its economic situation in order to prevent a major crisis regarding a lack of competitiveness. Ottawa therefore employed several measures simultaneously including the reduction of transfers to the provinces and the off-loading of some of the federal deficit onto the provinces whose deficits more than doubled between 1991 and 1993. Thus in 1994, when Moody's Investor Services downgraded Canada's sovereign debt, the federal government immediately focused its attention and energies on balancing the budget and controlling public spending. Downsizing was seen as the most effective vehicle towards achieving the desired results of fiscal management and making service delivery to the public more efficient. As the goal of "Getting Government Right" unfolded however, the organizational program and staff impacts that occurred were painful. Victims and survivors witnessed destroyed careers; cynicisms increased; and trust in organizational leadership decreased.

Downsizing as the primary strategy for restructuring, has been relatively unsuccessful over the years, including during the 1980s when its use was widespread throughout the private sector. Several studies have shown that downsizing has been particularly ineffective in the public sector due to the social and political implications that invariably derail the exercise. Kim S. Cameron, a professor of organizational behavior who has spent the last 20 years researching the phenomenon, refers to downsizing as the most pervasive yet unsuccessful change effort in the business world. The problem he argues lies in how it is carried out. He explains that it is most often implemented as a grenade strategy, where you throw a grenade into an organization and it explodes, eliminating the positions of a certain number of people. The dilemma is, you have no way of telling precisely what the effect is going to be (Jenkins, 1997). Yet many researchers recognize that some restructuring is necessary over time, to realign the skills of employees with the objectives of an organization. Managing strategic change is difficult enough in the best of circumstances. When it involves downsizing, there is tremendous loss of energy, talent, and organizational knowledge through the destruction of informal information sharing networks. It also causes damage to morale, commitment, and loyalty.

The federal and provincial governments vigorously pursued initiatives geared towards reducing the deficit, and hoped for a more efficient, effective public service. For most departments however, the challenge was to explore new ways of doing business, with less in the way of financial and human resources. The irony is that as the public service transforms into a knowledge-based entity, people and their skills become an increasingly valuable asset. Treasury Board and Management Board officials have admitted that many of the younger and/or more qualified employees are leaving the public service. They have greater mobility, are not tied to pensions, and are less risk averse. With recruitment at an all time low, there will be a smaller pool of qualified and experienced staff to replace older workers nearing retirement. The 1994/95 Annual Report of the Public Service Commission indicated that by the year 2005, over 70% of executives and approximately 45% of the executive feeder group will be in a position to retire. Real or imagined, there is an increasing human resources crisis that may ultimately lead to a greater problem than the modernization exercise had attempted to resolve. In response to the crisis precipitated by years of downsizing, salary freezes, restructuring, and Program Review, in 1997, Jocelyne Bourgon, Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet announced an initiative called "La Relève". The title of this program was an acronym for 'leadership, action, renewal, energy, learning, expertise, values, and excellence. It was undertaken to counter the negative effects of downsizing and to create a renewed federal public service, as well as a response to an aging of the Public Service workforce; the critical shortages in certain occupations; and changes in the way that work was organized across government. It seemed to be an acknowledgement that the modernization process had lost its way. No similar program has been attempted by Ontario but the signs abound that the process has been more fractious than at the federal level. What lessons have been learned and where should we go from here? What role if any, has programs such as 'surplus employee', 'bumping', 'early departure incentive', etc., played in the emotional and psychological state of public service employees? What other solutions for organizational restructuring could you imagine, that would avoid the negative effects of such approaches as downsizing?

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The Development of University Leaders: Supporting the Professional Development Needs of University Presidents

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Abstract: Leading the modern university requires skills that many presidents lack, particularly if they have pursued a traditional academic career prior to the presidency. Although subordinate administrative positions such as deanships provide some preparation and training, ongoing professional development is critical to ensuring the president's ability to manage an increasingly complex institution.

Preparing the University Leader

The career path of the university leader has traditionally meant a steady incremental march through the tenured academic ranks to the positions of department head, dean and vice-president. This path has the advantage of gradually introducing the leader to progressively increased administrative, financial, and political complexity. History suggests, and research reinforces, that lay administrators (i.e., those from a non-academic background) have not usually been acceptable to the single most powerful group on campus: the faculty. As one researcher confirms, faculty members have argued that the specialized job of managing the university can only be successfully done by those who have come from within their own ranks (Oshagbemi, 1988).

New presidents have often been disconcerted by the sheer ruthlessness of their early experiences in the position. As one president has described it, "I went from seduction to the guillotine in five fast years" (Kerr & Gade, 1986, p.33). The variegated scope of the job, the innumerable demands on one's time and the incessant public activities, are challenges common to all incumbents. A more specific challenge, however, is the need for expertise in areas that even seasoned academic administrators have not anticipated. Examples of these areas are: collective bargaining within a multi-union environment, legal frameworks, government relations, communications strategies (particularly with external constituencies), management of governance bodies, and campus crises of all kinds. This suggests that the traditional academic career progression might not be sufficient preparation for the presidency.

Developing the University Leader

The average tenure of the university leader has decreased substantially over the years. These shorter terms reflect the escalating acuity of the position's duties and activities, which increasingly encroach on all times of the day, evenings and weekends. At the same time, presidents struggle to remain current in their academic disciplines, maintain professional certification (if applicable), and possibly teach the occasional course or lecture series. In their very limited, almost non-existent discretionary time, presidents must continually develop and upgrade their own leadership skills. The frenetic pace of change, the rapid "obsolescence of experience" (McDade, 1987), and the reduced time for responding to immediate and strategic issues, all suggest that leaders can not function without appropriate skills. Failure to adapt and plan for rapidly evolving circumstances can result in an enervated, exhausted, and ineffectual leader. The consequences are equally dire for the institution itself.

Attributes and activities that are particularly problematic for some presidents, and in which development is often sought, include public speaking, government liaison, cultivation of constituency support, negotiation and conflict resolution, policy formulation, and resource acquisition. To address these needs, a number of management programs and institutes have been established. The literature suggests, however, that a more productive development of leaders occurs outside the formal course and seminar environment. Networking and similar support strategies help leaders learn about common problems and issues, and are thus more effective aids to development. Presidents themselves, according to Fretwell (1988), comprise "the best of all possible support systems for one another." Professional literature, conference attendance, and governance service in local and national organizations are further aids to development, as they expose the president to theoretical and practical strategies for success.

Developing the Female University Leader

The literature regarding the advancement and development of women in the academic world, as faculty members or administrators, is plentiful and current. Likewise, research continues to be actively produced on the role of women as leaders, both within and outside the university environment. Much of this literature has focussed on strategies women can use to develop and advance in their careers, whilst contending with the institutional discrimination that so often threatens to derail their progression. The literature supports a number of areas in which female leaders have unique development needs (Rees, 1999). The first of these is an understanding of power: how it is defined, how it can be used and developed, and how the women who wield it are perceived. The second area concerns the "old boys' network", in which women are excluded from the male washrooms and private clubs, wherein much business is conducted and many advantageous alliances are formed. The third, and perhaps most significant, area of development need is the maintenance of strong single or multiple mentorship relations. While mentorship is important to male leaders, it is particularly critical to the success of women; and the benefit derived from multiple mentors, either concomitantly or sequentially, is a key factor in a leader's ongoing development.

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Building Research Capacity in Adult Literacy: Where do we start?

Rountable

Participants: Eileen Antone (OISE/UT), Darlene E. Clover (UVic), Nancy Jackson (OISE/UT), Tom Nesbit (SFU), Daniel Schugurensky (OISE/UT), Denise Wilson (OISE/UT).

In recent years, there has been a growing concern in adult literacy (both in Canada and abroad) about the best strategies to narrow the gap between the scholarly research undertaken in universities and the field of practice. In this context, a variety of frameworks and proposals to encourage co-operation between researchers and practitioners began to emerge in federal and provincial policy circles alike. For instance, the National Literacy Secretariat (NLS) has recently developed a framework to guide its efforts to strengthening literacy research infrastructure and capacity. One of the key areas of support identified in the framework consists of encouraging co-operation between researchers and practitioners. Among the initiatives suggested by NLS to nurture this cooperation are research sabbaticals for practitioners, practical sabbaticals for researchers, support for networking between literacy researchers and practitioners, and joint seminars and workshops of researchers and practitioners. To take just one example of similar initiatives at the provincial level, the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities of Ontario has released a literacy research strategy document (MTCU 2000) in which it echoes the concern that the findings and outcomes of research are often not applied in the field. The document then claims that practitioners need support and training to assist them to apply research findings in practice, and calls for the development of a culture of research in the field of adult literacy characterized by collaboration between academic researchers and practitioners

A common theme in these discussions is the need for research and practice to inform each other in order to develop together a theoretical base and a relevant research agenda for adult literacy work. The growing consensus is that such base could only be shaped through regular dialogue and interaction between academic researchers and those who are actively involved in the field, including practitioners and learners. Enhancing the existing culture of research in the adult literacy community implies to foster an environment where academic researchers, practitioners and learners are comfortable to review and comment on research, to apply research outcomes in practice, and to be involved in program-based research (MTCU 2000). It also implies the development of a common understanding of the main issues concerning research in the field (and eventually an agreed upon research agenda), which in turn requires to put on the table the perspectives held by the different groups that constitute the adult literacy community. In this roundtable a group of university-based researchers discuss some collaborative initiatives undertaken with adult literacy groups in two provinces (British Columbia and in Ontario) in order to enhance research capacities in our field.

In British Columbia, it was found that a significant number of literacy practitioners were interested in how research can better inform local practices, develop understanding of how adults best learn in different situations, or increase awareness of, and support for, literacy programming among industry and government representatives. Despite this interest, however, local literacy practitioners do not always have the opportunities nor possess the skills to explore such questions in a deliberate or systematic fashion. Research on literacy themes and issues has tended to be conducted by university-based researchers rather than practitioners themselves or collaborations between practitioners and academic researchers. Recently, several individuals and organisations interested in adult literacy had begun to explore the issue of research directly. Past years had witnessed an action research course, an electronic conference, a seminar organised by the provincial government, as well as a series of informal discussions all focusing on adult literacy research. These initiatives both indicate the concern for more practitioner-based literacy research while also suggesting one vehicle through which such research might be encouraged and supported.

During 1999-2001, a partnership project between Simon Fraser University and Literacy BC developed and coordinated a "literacy research circle", a network of provincial adult, workplace, and family literacy practitioners who were committed to learning about research through developing and conducting small-scale individual and joint practitioner-based research projects. Funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the project was based on the notion that one of the best ways to learn about research skills and approaches was by engaging in an ongoing cycle of doing and reflecting. The project intended to form a group of adult, workplace, and family literacy practitioners who were interested in designing, conducting, and disseminating their own research, and committed to participating in an ongoing research circle with other literacy practitioners, and explore with these practitioners how best their own research agendas and questions. The literacy research circle model, inspired in Scandinavian Grundtvig study circles and Freirian literacy circles, has being carried out in other parts of Canada, and the discussion of the British Columbia experience can provide a platform to share information and ideas among participants of those adult literacy research circles present at the CASAE conference, and particularly to learn more about the pitfalls and benefits of this model.

In Ontario, the Adult Literacy Working Group (ALWG) of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto (OISE/UT) undertook a consultation with adult literacy communities in Ontario on the subject of research capacity. This consultation, funded by MTCU, was organized in two phases. The first phase included interviews and focus groups. At the end of the first phase, a document outlining the main issues and concerns raised during the first phase, as well as the main strategies suggested by participants to address those concerns, were circulated. That led to the second phase of the consultation, a two-day workshop to which everyone who participated in the first phase was invited. It included representatives from the different literacy providers working in the Province of Ontario, representatives of learners' organizations, staff from adult literacy resource centers, and members of academic institutions. The workshop allowed for a collective revision of the preliminary documents and for a candid dialogue about the best ways to build research capacity on adult literacy in the Province of Ontario. In spite of occasional difficulties due to dealing with three languages (French, English and ASL), different cultures and even different approaches to literacy, the meeting was highly congenial, and participants were eager to build bridges and find the best avenues for mutual collaboration. Throughout the entire consultation process there was a consensus that a research partnership between the university and the literacy communities would avoid duplications, would multiply efforts and in general would be highly beneficial for all groups and for the field of adult literacy. In this roundtable, several of the university-based participants of the Ontario consultation and workshop will address the main issues that arose during this process.

Labour Education: Trends and Opportunities

Bruce Spencer, chair

Naomi Frankel, France Laurendeau, Tom Nesbit, Jeffery Taylor

Abstract: This roundtable will provide an opportunity to discuss labour education within an international context. The contributors are Canadian authors of chapters in a new international and comparative book on labour education.

Labour education (education by and for unions) is one of the most important forms of adult education available to working people, and in many countries it attracts more participants than any other form of non-vocational adult education. But it is most often under-reported and ignored in discussions about adult learning, labour relations or generally in discussions about the role of unions in society.

This roundtable will discuss issues raised by a new text on international labour education (Spencer, 2002). With contributions from eight different countries spanning all populated continents, this text emphasizes international and comparative perspectives in the developed, English-speaking world. Contributors are from Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, South Africa, Sweden, UK, and the USA; in addition, one chapter draws on a study of 15 European Economic Area countries and another chapter is from French-speaking Quebec. The labour education explored reflects the various political realities of the countries represented and enhances our understanding of how these political realities affect working people. The authors are leading labour and adult educators with union and labour relations backgrounds.

This is the first book to offer international and comparative perspectives on labour education. It provides context, discusses issues and examples of provision, relates economic and labour relations challenges and trends, and reports on new initiatives, programming and courses. It also provides direction for labour education into the 21st century.

Roundtable contributions

The roundtable includes Canadian contributors to this international discourse.

Bruce Spencer will offer an introduction to labour education that frames labour learning within an understanding of the purposes of labour education and social purpose adult education.

Tom Nesbit will review the educational provision for full-time officers (FTOs) in the UK, USA and Canada within the context of overall labour education policy and the changing nature of work. Tom notes that most FTOs come from within the union membership, and he discusses the limited educational provision available to FTOs. His contribution provides a powerful rationale for a greater emphasis on education for labour's professionals, particularly in their roles as "administrators" and "analysts."

France Laurendeau (and D'Arcy Martin) respond to the challenge issued by Tom Nesbit for better educational provision for full-time officers (FTOs). France will describe a new initiative launched by the Quebec union central Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec (FTQ) and argue that this new labour college (Collège FTQ-Fonds) is equipping FTOs with the knowledge and skills to respond to the faster, less certain environment of the globalized economy.

Jeffery Taylor will describe the pioneering developments in union on-line learning that he has been involved with in Canada. He documents how unions have responded to the educational challenges posed by widespread computer use and the Internet and explains the uses made of a solidarity network (SoliNet) in Canada in the early 1990s and the more recent examples of e-learning. He argues for a continuing investigation of the uses of on-line education for union members in the new century and that there is an obvious use for labour on-line learning in building education across national boundaries.

Naomi Frankel (and Bruce Spencer) will review union learning in the context of the challenges presented by new management techniques, workplace learning and the globalization of production. The discussion will draw together the themes raised by the different contributions and blend them with other developments in labour education to provide a commentary on the future of labour learning in the new century.

Conclusions

Many of the initiatives discussed in this book have elements of both accommodation and resistance to current globalization trends. Some courses and programs can be seen as proactive, others as adaptive, while much of labour education remains reactive. Overall, however, unions remain an important and positive social organization for working people. It is the absence of strong, independent unions that remains a problem for workers in the majority of free-trade zones, and labour educators understand that. But beyond these immediate concerns unions do have to wrestle with the question of what it is they want to achieve. Are they simply striving to represent members within the new global order, or should they, as Mike Newman urges in the penultimate chapter, strive to become key players in civil society? If they choose the latter, there are implications for labour education; the focus of labour education would shift (but never retreat) from representative training -- core labour education -- towards courses and programs stressing education for community development, strategic involvement and social justice.

Labour education has always been "social:" core labour education is provided for representatives rather than for individuals, and it has always had a social purpose -- that of improving the conditions of workers at work and in society. As illustrated in this collection, labour education today is more diverse and ambitious than it has ever been in serving the needs of both representatives and members as they face the challenges of the 21st Century.

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Resisting Racism, Classism and Gendered Policies in the Classroom: the Adult Educator's Role in the Context of Globalisation

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Abstract: The purpose of this roundtable is to examine strategies adult educators use to mitigate barriers to students' successful completion of credit/certificate continuing education programs, particularly regarding impacts on immigrant and refugee women of colour, in the context of globalisation trends, racism, classism, Eurocentrism, and gendered public policies.

The Context: Globalisation, Public Policy, and National Narratives

Globalisation and Public Policy

Intersecting impacts of globalisation converge to exclude immigrant and refugee women of colour from labour market participation and economic security. These include the transformation of women's family role, women's expanding economic contributions to the household, the devaluation of these contributions, the loss of social networks and support of the extended family, the need to acquire a new language, and the stress, frustration and isolation they might experience. (Ad Hoc Committee, 1999, pgs. 4-5)

What is the overall picture regarding immigration and refugee policy as a site of women's oppression? How does Canadian government policy and legislation affect women? How do they reflect women's day-to-day lives; do they work to disadvantage women? Current policies respond to the particularities of current market pressures in the context of globalization, while remaining rooted in colonial systems and structures.

Presently, immigration policy is shifting away from family reunification towards business class immigrants. The requirements are difficult for women to meet. As well, immigration and refugee policies impact health care, child care and social services access. (Ibid) For example, the erosion of cost-free ESL programs through processes of privatisation denies working class immigrant and refugee women access to needed language training. In Ontario, school boards receiving provincial funding for teachers of adult ESL learners, get no money for the classroom (heat, light, and care taking). Significant numbers of adult ESL classes are being closed as a result. The Toronto District School Board has closed down over 84 adult ESL classes since September, 2001. At the same time, the Federal government funds ESL classes up to an intermediate level of English only, falling far short of needed advanced level ESL programs. including bridging language training programs. (Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), Canadian Arab Federation, Chinese Canadian National Council, Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 2002)

National Narratives

What are the impacts of the national narrative regarding immigrant and refugee women of colour? There is an embedded ideological function of dominant narratives regarding issues of migration and asylum. This produces structured attitudes, biases, pre-judices, and oppressive behaviours apparent in individuals and institutions charged with the delivery of settlement services, including English language training. Refugees today

face stigmatisation as illegal migrants, bogus asylum seekers, criminals or terrorists. It is a racial story, based on the idea that European's are the original people and are responsible for the development of the country. (Razack, 2000, pgs.182-187)

How do adult educators respond to the oppressive structures and infrastructures which target immigrant and refugee women of colour? How do we *locate ourselves in the paradigm? What is our role?*

Drawing on my 20 years as an adult ESL instructor in non-credit Board of Education programs (Toronto), and as an occasional teacher of a College English credit course for the Continuing Education Department at George Brown College, it is my observation that immigrant and refugee women of colour who are community college students struggle against considerable odds to obtain the certificates that might improve their chances for employment in their chosen fields. A significant barrier to their success is that the English language upgrading and training they need in order to move to fluency in English, is mostly inaccessible.

In the fall of 2001, I taught a mandatory College English course to 30 continuing education students in a Toronto community college. Five students spoke English as a first language, including women from the Caribbean whose English is not considered "standard" within the community college system. Over 90% were students of colour. The majority were immigrant and refugee women. Most of the women worked either full or part-time, and had children.In most situations, their jobs were peripherally related to their career goals. For example, several women hoping to complete an RN program were working as nurse's aids or home care givers. Some came to class directly from night shifts at hospitals or other care-giving institutions.

My interest was in mitigating as much as possible the additional stress women experienced as a result of having continuing difficulties with functionality in English. I wanted to know which of the course requirements were having the greatest impact as barriers to women's learning. In my discussions with women when they requested extensions on assignments, citing the reason for their request, or phoned to tell me why they could not attend a class, I learned which course requirements were having the greatest negative impact on them. These included mandatory attendance, preset standards for marking and grading, word-processing of assignments, access to computer technology, and required texts. As an adult educator, how can I subvert requirements for completion of the course in order to provide concrete support for women to achieve their learning goals?

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SYMPOSIA

"What is Native Literacy?"

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Dr. Peter Gamlin OISE, University of Toronto.
Moneca Sinclair (Ed.D. Candidate) OISE, University of Toronto.
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The historical pattern of education for Aboriginal people has been inundated with an educational system built on the goal of assimilation and designed for foreign economics. According to Imel (2001), Aboriginal adult education programs in the 1950's were designed to improve English proficiency and provide vocational training. In more recent years, in resistance to such history, the goals of Aboriginal literacy programs are concerned with securing and revitalizing Aboriginal language and culture.

Aboriginal people have experienced great trauma in their educational journey, especially from the residential schools when children were removed from their homes, communities and nations and placed in a foreign environment with Eurocentric rules and expectations. The situation was not much better for the children who attended schools in their home community. These children were also exposed to the Eurocentric values of violence in the learning environment; many were strapped for speaking their own language. Therefore, factors such as healing, self-determination, and reclamation of identity, language, and cultures play a major role in the complex issue of Aboriginal literacy.

The Ontario Native Literacy Coalition states: "Native literacy is a tool which empowers the spirit of Native people… Native literacy fosters and promotes achievement and a sense of purpose, which are both central to self-determination" (George, ND: 6).

The authors for this paper examine Aboriginal literacy from various perspectives, focussing on factors impacting Aboriginal literacy in adult education practice.

Framing Aboriginal Literacy in a Culturally Appropriate Way

Dr. Eileen Antone

Historically the education of the Aboriginal people of Canada has been based on the governmental policy of assimilation. The assimilation process was implemented in both the residential and community day school systems. These systems were established to inculcate Aboriginal students with Euro western doctrine. The results of this situation was that Aboriginal people were not prepared with skills necessary to enter the mainstream workforce nor were they prepared with the skills necessary for life in the traditional Aboriginal community.

Ball (1996) quotes the 1992 National Anti-Poverty Organization:

"...Residential schools are gone now, but the legacy lives on among many Native people in the form of self-hatred, substance abuse and child abuse. The damage cannot be overstated. People lost their pride, their hope, and the chance to learn from the Elders. An entire generation of adults experienced the pain of losing their children to residential schools. Those who grew up in the schools often have frightful memories which may prevent them from getting involved today in their own [and their] children's schooling."

According to Scollon (ND) a new focus in literacy called 'New Literacy Studies' began in the late 70s and early 80s. This contemporary view indicates that there has been a paradigm shift in the focus of "literacy as deficit or lack… to the many different ways that people engage with literacy, recognizing difference and diversity and challenging how these differences are valued with our society (Hamilton 2000)." Hamilton contends that when we move away from seeing literacy as simply a set of skills we can recognize that there are many different literacies and that people continue to develop new literacies all the time. As the New Literacy Studies developed in the non-Aboriginal society there were also changes taking place in various Aboriginal communities regarding literacy for Aboriginal learners.

Gaikezheyongai (2000:6) reports that in 1987 members of the Aboriginal community in Toronto began a literacy movement to improve the quality of education for their learners. They began to explore and build connections between Aboriginal literacy, healing, community development, and self-determination. Other Aboriginal groups have also been developing ways of incorporating traditional Aboriginal knowledge and methodologies into the learning situations of Aboriginal learners. First Nations Technical Institute (FNTI) developed a Medicine Wheel Model of learning based on four stages: Awareness; Struggle; Building; and Preservation. This wholistic approach to learning centres on spiritual, emotional, mental and physical attributes.

In 1996 Pricilla George also developed a wholistic approach to literacy based on the Medicine Wheel. She called her wholistic theory the Rainbow Approach to Literacy. This approach incorporates the four stages of learning from the FNTI Medicine Wheel Model with the literacies of various colours. In this model red is the literacy of Aboriginal languages, orange-oral tradition, yellow-communication, green-multicultural multilingual society, blue-technology, indigo-"spiritual seeing" or intuition and violet-holistic base of Aboriginal literacy (spirit, heart, mind and body). These models developed by the Aboriginal scholars are raised up to combat the assimilation process that continues to be detrimental to Aboriginal societies.

This combative process involves a transformation from oppression to revitalization. Such transformation takes the form of revitalizing and sustaining Native spirituality, worldview, culture and literacy.

Transformation and Aboriginal Literacy

Dr. Peter Gamlin

Literacy is presented in the broadest sense in this paper. Being literate is about sustaining a particular worldview and about the survival of a distinct and vital culture. Being literate is about resymbolizing and reinterpreting past experience, while at the same time honouring traditional values. Being literate is about *living* these values in contemporary times. Being literate is about *visioning* a future in which an Aboriginal *way of being* will continue to thrive. Meaningful Aboriginal literacy will develop and find expression in everything that you do.

The elders tell us that creativity is an intrinsic aspect of survival. Creativity leads to new thinking and new behavior. New thinking, new behavior and survival all follow from listening to traditional values and then finding ways to practice them. So we see that literacy begins with orality and the traditional values found in stories. When we follow these values, we are practicing Aboriginal ways in literacy and more generally, in every aspect of our lives.

In these words I am guided by Joe Couture (1987). Joe points out that: "*Indian identity is redefined in terms of 20th-century conditions. And with this,* ***fundamental traditional elements are re expressed and presented as fresh inspiration for a renewed action***" (p.5).

In these words Joe is making a declaration for transformational practice and transformational attitudes. The key to creativity and transformational practice is found in taking a holistic perspective, which is a manifestation of traditional Aboriginal values. From Joe's perspective and in his concluding statement he says: *"It seems clear to me that* ***a holistic philosophy and psychology of education rooted in traditional native values*** *can improve the educational opportunities for native children."* (p.12)

Transformative Aboriginal literacy development is always about being creative (resymbolizing and reinterpreting past experience in our everyday activities), as we find ways to practice traditional values (presented as fresh inspiration for a renewed action).

Transformative Aboriginal literacy development is about listening to the elders who are experts on survival. "They will interpret for their own people the current meaning and direction of their history. It is the responsibility of younger generations to interpret and apply these directives as fundamental traditional elements ---and expressed and presented as fresh inspirations for a renewed action" (Couture, 1987, p.5).

When teachings are passed from the elders to the younger generations, literacy (orality) takes on the traditional form and is being lived out in contemporary society. Literacy is part of everyday lives of Native Peoples - reconnecting intergenerational ties and being infused into life long learning.

Aboriginal Literacy

Moneca Sinclair *(Ed.D. Candidate)*

Aboriginal literacy is more than reading, numeracy, and writing to gain access into mainstream employment. It is the beginning of life long process to affirm the worldview held by Aboriginal peoples and thus empowers the spirit of Aboriginal peoples. It is a tool that begins the process of critical thinking and the need to regain their languages. It is the understanding that their language holds the key to maintaining their culture. Aboriginal literacy is a tool that begins the process of self-achievement and sense of purpose.

Aboriginal people who attend literacy programs on reserve or rural/semi-urban areas are four times more likely to have learners who have been in residential school according to George, 2000. The focus in residential schools was the assimilation of Aboriginal students into mainstream society, rather than on academics. Thus many Aboriginal people did not have the basic skills of reading and writing. In fact many attendees of residential schools have painful memories of abuse (verbal, physical and sexual), that can b severe block to learning and attaining/maintaining a good quality of life. Their experiences in residential school have turned them off institutions and/or Education as a whole according to George, 2000. Thus Aboriginal literacy is more than reading and writing it is a tool that gives Aboriginal peoples skills to live in a harmonious way within mainstream society of North America.

Part of the process of revitalizing Aboriginal literacy not only involves transformation from subjugation to empowerment but also reaching an harmonious relationship between Native and non-Native cultures, who live side by side and inter-act in reciprocal relationships. Culture, tradition, language and ways of knowing are all inter-connected in Aboriginal literacy and, as represented on the medicine wheel, these aspects become balanced in a person's life when there is harmony.

Indigenous "Ecologies for Learning": a Strategy for Literacy

***Lois Provost Turchetti** (M.Ed. Candidate)*

Emerging approaches to literacy, as a relational way of learning, reflect historical Indigenous *Ecologies for Learning* or 'ways of knowing'. Erdoes and Ortiz describe it as a "communal universe" (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984) and Cajete explains it in the traditional teaching "We are all related" which describes "mutual, reciprocal relationships between one's social group and the natural world" (Cajete 1994). In these traditional Ecologies for Learning, teaching and learning are centered around common points of reference and changing perspectives dependent on the interplay between the abilities, propensities, circumstances and environments in which and with which we grow up. There are two basic human patterns for knowing, thinking and learning - *Aural-Oral/Kinetic* (AK) and *Visual-Written/Kinetic* (VK) - are distinct yet covalent and complementary ways of knowing[1]. I use these terms here to avoid the stereotypical connotations of 'oral'/'written' or 'Indigenous'/'Non-indigenous' nomenclature.

AK is based on aural ways of knowing, VK on visual ways of knowing and both are kinetic for they involve living and moving in the world[2] as a particular person (self), in a particular community (selves), circumstance (time) and environment (place). These different ways of knowing are cultures or Ecologies for Learning (Provost Turchetti 1998). The mainstream system of education in North America remains VK where there is a small international language component but no focus on Indigenous Ecologies for Learning.

AK thinkers follow a 'homonymic' principle by listening for similar sounds and then for differences between the sounds heard in relation to different objects. VK thinkers follow the equivalent 'synonymic' principle by looking for differences in objects and then for similarities between the objects in relation to other objects. Ways of knowing from Indigenous perspectives require a common point of reference between a knower and a known to be achieved. The common point is language and the context is culture. Written 'literacy' is a concretization of an ambiguous sound as a thought, a word, a tongue, and a language. Language, the source and foundation of all learned knowing is made up of many thousands of 'stories'.

Storying[3] is the point of reference for the common *Foundations of Relational Knowledge* of AK Indigenous peoples. This way of knowing has to do with the making of *Mythstories*, individually and communally, and with placing those stories in relation with "the myth that there is, the myth that is there". It has to do with creating a communal *Mythographic Universe* around a shared *Mythographic Centre*, the Mythstory of a beginning, an end, and the search for patterning and meaning embedded in the human instinct to Storying as a *Mythographic Language* (Provost Turchetti 2001). It has to do with learning in the process of "centering, decentering and recentering" as we encounter the Ecologies of other selves.

AK 'sees' existing as many aspects of being, while VK 'sees' existing as the aspect of 'not-having'. Let us enquire into these things more deeply by adventuring into Mythstory. On the left, "A Circle of Elders", was taken in the Humber Valley, Toronto, Ontario in spring. On the right, a "Circle of Elders" was taken looking skyward through the tree-tops. We seem to be looking at the same trees, isolated as the treetops are from their contexts. This second photo was taken the previous winter in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. In Storying, balancing and harmonizing what is known is not enough; AK thinking requires us to discern the meaning of mythstories in cultural context in the many different cultures our paths transect. Though our Ecologies are similar, each one must continue to be distinct in its own way if it is to have mindful, embodied content for Indigenous 'literacy' occurs in the spatio-temporal dialectic between the unique and the similar as the two become 'familiar'. In overcoming the differences in personal and communal space-time, knowers re-cognize 'family' relationships.

Each knower encounters a different aspect of the trees yet there is a common theme. We may recover a sphere of reference by which, in which and through which we are all related. This is *Archaeoliteracy*, the ancestral Indigenous and Aboriginal way of storying our Ecologies for Learning. Accordingly, learning is equated with acknowledging unknowingness for certain things should not be . . . cannot be captured in words.

Conceptualizing Native literacy is in the same moment both unattainable (as it is an intangible) and necessary to try to articulate (as a tangible) in order to affirm and attain Indigenous ways of knowing in contemporary society. Stories and ways of being are the birth right to Aboriginal Peoples and must be returned to the People. Some ways of returning this right are through recognizing Native languages and striving for healthy and harmonious ways of being at an individual level and in the community.

Three aspects of Native Literacy: Recognition of Native languages, helping others through community based programs and maintaining healthy Native communities

Julian Robbins *(Ph.D Candidate)*

Initially Native Literacy was much more focused on allowing Native people to find gainful employment through improving their English reading and writing skills. However, over time, Native Literacy has evolved to directly include Native cultural components and language retention (Williams, 1989).

Language and culture are inseparable from the struggle to keep Native [sic] languages alive is to the struggle to keep Native[sic] cultures alive (Hutchinson, 2002). Enmeshed within the medium of Native languages are the cultural tools and teachings necessary to move Native [sic] people forward in a positive way. Native Literacy is a unique phenomenon and it should be recognized that government means of evaluation which concentrate on "literacy" without the inclusion of Native languages will likely fall short of meeting their objectives. The subtleties of language beyond the mere translation of words encompasses expressions of concepts, feelings and even body language. Native languages hold the potential of providing the bridge between the oral tradition and English literacy (Leavitt, 1995).

With regard to helping others, Native literacy is primarily about the people who use these services. There is a balance that needs to be arrived at between what a Native literacy practitioner can do to help a client and what the clients themselves feel is beneficial for them to learn (Akiwenzi-Damm and Halonen, 1997). At least partially, the students should be given individual time and attention so that they can learn at their own pace. There are many different possibilities with regard to how one learns. These needs seem to be addressed best with community based programs and research because Native culture is not a generic entity that can be fully accounted for by an "overall plan".

Lastly, Native literacy is holistic. It is connected to many other aspects of the health and well-being of Native [sic] communities (Hill, 2001). Knowing the complex natures of natural forces and how they relate to one another is an important context for the expression of Indigenous knowledges. There is not the same separation between science, medicine, art, religion, philosophy etc. that exists in the Euro-centric view and this needs to be acknowledged. For example if a Native herbal remedy is "extracted" by a Western trained botanist out of context (e.g.: without the inclusion of ceremonies, chants, relationships) the same effect will not be achieved (Battiste, Henderson, 2000).

One of the objectives of Native literacy should be to create awareness that allows Native peoples to gain an understanding and perhaps even some knowledge of how to improve their employability skills through means which reinforce the use of their own Native culture and/or language. Thus, formal Euro-centric standards should be enmeshed with the way that a community decides to design their program

Summary

Dr. Rhonda L. Paulsen

Literacy has been explained as being synonymous with culture, tradition, worldview, languages, and ways of knowing. In the perspective of Aboriginal Peoples, literacy is not restricted to the written word; the true meaning of literacy is not confined to the page. Rather, it is evident when one looks beyond the page and outside the limitations of words to see the holistic vision of ways of knowing and becoming in the life-long process of learning.

Slowly, non-Native people are realizing the concept of life-long learning being a process through which one takes the learning outside the walls of the school and into everyday life. Although Collins (in Scott, 1998) and Niemi (1998) find that while significant learning occurs beyond the school walls and is lifelong, the education system still promote an obsession with finishing. However, in the traditional Aboriginal perspective, learning is never finished, it is a treasured part of every-day living and a life-long process.

In traditional education, learning is passed down from generation to generation orally and through sharing experiences, thereby literacy becomes the active form of learning, evident in a person's development of knowledge, their values, and way of being. This transformative process of learning and literacy continues through our life journey with no ending or "finish". For example, one Ojibway elder explains the intergenerational connection in traditional education and the participatory and experiential components of learning for Medicine people. "*You know when they're born that that's their role, their function in life. Medicine people nurture. You start teaching them at a young age what the different barks and plants will do for them. The white doctors go to school for 8 or 9 years, but our People go to school their whole lives for it. That's traditional*" (in Paulsen, 1998). Peltier, Director of Education for Aboriginal alternative schooling, describes how these components of traditional education "*begin in the home, it is mostly observational. Young children look at adults and learn about things through observation and doing things with adults...there are some things in life you don't need a lesson plan for*" (Ibid.). It is these components of education and methodologies that can not be confined to an institutionalized system; it is these values that encompass Native literacy.

Battiste (1995) promotes the ideology of meanings and experiences as being connected to one's thoughts and communicated through dialogue, or through what she refers to for her People, the Mi'kmaq, as "symbolic literacy". Symbolic literacy is defined as a unity of consciousness that bonded the People together in epistemology and worldview. The written form of communication for the traditional Mi'kmaq took shape in pictographs, petroglyphs, and notched sticks, which recorded and described the social, political, cultural and spiritual needs of the society. Battiste maintains that in this way, symbolic literacy incorporated oral and written narratives, and created a sharing of common ideals and a collective cognitive experience.

The means through which people articulate the expression of their experience, in either written or oral form, is the place for literacy within the context of language and culture. Kirkness (1992) supports the need to maintain one's language in order to secure the definition of one's culture – for without it, the strength of a defined identity and community weakens.

Further, as Battiste (1995) cautions, when one culture's form of literacy is forced upon another, it then becomes cultural and cognitive assimilation. Literacy in this framework, as we can see in contemporary mainstream society, becomes a constructed measurement tool by which one examines and analyzes the level at which another is educated and can read and write. Such a framework illustrates the positioning of Native Peoples in a dominant-to-oppressed social order when Aboriginal perspectives of literacy are not recognized or valued. This is the position that the People are moving out of and one of the principal means of doing so is through the revitalization of culture, tradition and language/literacy.

In multi-cultural and multi-lingual societies, there are representations of people from several cultures contributing their unique identities that are defined by worldview, values and language, into the public mosaic of the learning environment. Identity, culture, tradition, and worldview are factors that, for Aboriginal Peoples, permeate the use and form of language and literacy contributing to harmonious living within a pluralistic society. It is in this process of revitalization, life-long learning and engaging Aboriginal perspectives of literacy that the People are charting their own path for their own People.

Endnotes: Provost Turchetti

1. Elsewhere, I have done a detailed comparison of Aural-Oral/Kinetic and Visual-Written/Kinetic patterns for learning. These are not 'learning styles' which implies that they are inherent or bounded by genetics but rather 'learned styles' for thinking and knowing.
2. Piaget points out that a child's knowledge of the world begins with movement (see references).
3. 'Storying' is an active noun, or gerund, like as 'story' is a passive noun form. Storying through AK patterns for learning, though found primarily amongst Indigenous and Aboriginal peoples, are also found in other communities of knowers who acknowledge the certainty of unknowing and of the unknown. There are also Indigenous peoples who think in VK ways.

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Learning to lead in a social movement: Gender politics in union education in Quebec and English-speaking Canada

Symposium Presenters
Beverley Burke, Johanne Deschamps, Nancy Jackson, D'Arcy Martin, Adriane Paavo

Abstract: This symposium will explore the gender politics of educating union activists for leadership roles and the social construction of the concept of union leadership through brief presentations of four different union education experiences in Quebec and English-speaking Canada.

1. INTRODUCTION

Trade unions, as one segment of civil society, play a key role in counterbalancing the power of the market. Thus they try to avoid replicating dominant structures and systems of inequity, whether in race, sex or other social identities. But like other mainstream social institutions under capitalism, unions have been slow to recognise issues of gender inequity in their midst. They have tended to see their members as "abstract, ostensibly gender-neutral worker[s]" and their leaders as powerful, even heroic, but generic figures devoted to universal values like justice and solidarity and "whose central commitment is to the organization" (Acker, 1995, p. 139). 'Gender politics' begin to appear when these abstract ideals are translated into real, embodied lives, and it becomes clear that a 'predominant masculinity' pervades the structures, the processes and the outcomes of union activities (Pocock, 1997).

In response to this growing recognition, women activists across the industrialised world have actively campaigned to make unions more structurally and culturally inclusive. These initiatives have sought to increase participation, democratize organizational structures, and strengthen the capacity of unions to represent workers of all genders, races, and backgrounds. These initiatives challenge the taken-for-granted patterns of gendered or racialised 'solidarity' that result in women's issues being overlooked when bargaining priorities are set, or women and people of colour being excluded or overlooked when new leaders are being selected (Elton, 1997). They are about working toward both structural and cultural changes in the labour movement, leading to a more egalitarian, inclusive and democratic movement. They involve efforts by a variety of women, not just the middle-aged, able-bodied white women who have tended to emerge as the public spokespersons. In particular, the contributions of young women, women of colour and lesbians need to be highlighted in researching these issues.

In this symposium, we will discuss four different examples of union initiatives to develop and sustain women in leadership roles. These cases show a range of strategies and visions for building a more inclusive labour movement, and also remind us of the vulnerability of such initiatives in the face of ongoing restructuring.

2. THE WALL - STARTING WITH WOMEN'S LIVES

A workshop methodology

Many women's eyes glaze over when economics and international trade policies are discussed. Even when we realize that these issues are affecting us everyday, they seem abstract and distant, and we feel powerless to do anything about them. This presentation describes a method designed for use with women activists in the labour movement to address these issues.

Suzanne Doerge first developed 'the Wall' methodology in 1992 for an anti-poverty women's conference and further developed it with Bev Burke for the CUPE Women's National Conference in 1998. Since that time we have written a guide to the methodology, available in English and French, called *Starting with Women's Lives: Changing Today's Economy* distributed by the Canadian Labour Congress. The approach has been widely used in both public and private sector unions in Canada and internationally.

The workshop methodology is called the 'Wall' because participants build a multi-coloured paper wall over the course of a day. One reason it seems to work is because it draws upon the practice of *feminist popular education*. In brief, this mean that it links the macro to the micro, it starts with our daily lived experiences as women, and it draws upon diverse ways of learning including visual methods that enable participants to see and make connections. It encourages us to recognize our power as women and identify the actions that we can take to bring about change.

The Wall methodology is also grounded in a *gender analysis*. This means the focus is on gender relations, differences between women and men, not solely on women. The approach deals with unequal power relations among women based on differences of race, class, sexual orientation, ability, age. It recognizes that women's work tends to be undervalued, invisible and underpaid in all sectors of our lives: home, community, workplace and union. It recognizes that current economic arrangements depend upon women's inequality, and reproduce patterns of violence that maintain the model. It also recognizes the many ways that women, in spite of our differences, have common struggles internationally.

We use the image of a stone Wall to represent the economy because our economy is made up of inter-related parts that build on one another. The top of the Wall represents the ways that women are experiencing economic change in our everyday lives. This is often the only part of the Wall that we see. The bottom of the Wall holds up the top, representing the beliefs and practices that affect our lives and society as a whole. In the workshop we look at how women are affected differently than men by the changes in our communities, and we look at how women in different equity groups are affected differently from one another. After representing all these issues graphically on the Wall, we encourage all participants to identify concrete actions they can take to change some part of this picture.

This Wall methodology has been widely used and adapted by social movement groups. Unions have taken the methodology and adapted it for various purposes. For example, in Colombia, a major trade union central developed a five-day workshop using the Wall as part of their women's leadership training program. The Steelworkers trained women members to run an adapted one-day version of the Wall as part of their Women's Conference in Pittsburgh. An adaptation focusing on women and globalization was used with women leaders from the Public Service International Union (PSI) in both the Americas and South Pacific regions. The guide, *Starting with Women's Lives: Changing Today's Economy*, it is available through the Canadian Labour Congress, Women's and Human Rights Department in Ottawa.

3. THE PRAIRIE SCHOOL FOR UNION WOMEN

In the mid-1990s, some Saskatchewan union women began planning a labour school for women only, in addition to the annual co-ed school. With the solid support of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour, the Prairie School for Union Women (PSUW) has been held every year since 1997. Over four and a half days each March, about 150 participants take part in courses, and cultural, social, and physical activities. I have been an organizer of four of the six schools held to date, and thank the steering committee of the 2002 School for reviewing and supporting the paper on which this presentation is based.

The PSUW promotes women's involvement in the labour movement by creating a climate different from the co-ed school, acknowledging that women-only events provide a safer environment where we can learn, strategize, and create a community of women within the community of the labour movement. Organizers intuitively recognized the important role of labour education in developing activists and leaders; the School removes barriers to women's access to education and, through it, to leadership roles. Particularly interesting in the development of the School has been the emergence of aboriginal women and young women as union educators. Some have their first experience in leading courses within the PSUW, and continue as educators within their own affiliates or elsewhere. Thus the course "Unionism on Turtle Island" at the 2002 SFL Spring School will be co-taught by a young aboriginal woman whose first experience as both participant and instructor comes from the PSUW.

Gender still plays a role in determining what union educational opportunities are funded and for whom. The majority of participants at the SFL's 2001 spring co-ed labour school were male. The PSUW was created to break through this gendered access to labour schools. Only women are permitted to attend and facilitate at the PSUW. Registration fees cover all operating costs so no 'subsidizing is required from the SFL. The School is open to women of all ages and all levels of union experience. But one mark of PSUW's success in breaking through the gendered acess to learning barrier is that 30-50 percent of participants at each School identify that themselves as attending a union school for the first time. The program employs popular education methodology as a means of valuing women's knowledge and experience and building the confidence and solidarity of participants across barriers of age, race, sexual orientation and ability.

The PSUW also empowers women to be trade-union leaders by giving them the experience of organizing the School itself. Organizers intuitively knew that "the design of an educational program becomes a political endeavour as well" (Newman, 2000 p. 80). Each

School is organized by volunteers, most from the rank and file, who take on responsibility for arranging everything from finances to childcare.

Facilitating a course is a form of leadership, as well as a source of power within the labour movement. The School works to increase the pool of women facilitators available to the movement as a whole by giving women a place to learn facilitation skills, hone already-acquired skills, and gain experience and recognition. Every School has offered courses on popular-education design and facilitation. "Graduates" of these courses can then, in subsequent Schools, work as apprentice facilitators before taking on a full facilitation role. Since 1999, we have offered specific design and facilitation courses for all facilitators themselves, several months in advance of the School at which they will be instructing. We share access to facilitation experience by requiring that after an individual woman has facilitated at the PSUW three years in a row, she must take a year off so someone else can learn to facilitate "her" course.

The PSUW recognizes women's triple role (at work, at home, in the union) by building in opportunities for rest, play, and self-care into each School. By feeding women's spirits, we create an environment conducive to exploring new ideas and sharing experiences. On-site child care is provided at no extra cost to users and for extended hours in order that mothers can take part in the social life of the School as well as the classes. Organizers are less able, however, to recognize the impact of workload on leadership potential when it comes to the organizing committee itself. While any trade union woman who wants to join the committee can, whether she has been officially named by her union or not, a major time commitment is required. While School organizers are learning important leadership skills, it is still a form of union leadership which is time- and energy-intensive, and therefore not an easy option for women with competing family, personal, or economic priorities.

Building women's leadership also means recognizing that there are many different ways of being a woman. In addition to gender, access to union resources is privileged on the basis of age, seniority and/or status within the movement, race, sexual orientation, ability, and on the basis of holding union membership itself. The PSUW offers courses specifically addressing issues faced by women in their diversity. These are core courses not subject to enrolment minimums. The facilitators of other courses are asked to incorporate issues of equity and dealing with inequity in their classes. Plenary sessions held during the School are used to discuss equity issues as well as promote enrolment in equity-issues courses. Despite these policies, we have largely left recruitment of excluded-group members to the existing processes. The School has offered scholarships to participants from designated groups, with limited success because of lack of funding. The organizing committee is also still largely a white, able-bodied group, which may be symptomatic of deeper problems in identifying and removing barriers to learning and leadership for women who are Aboriginal, workers of colour, or workers with disabilities. Changing the face of the workforce and the union movement's leadership, whether on the shop-floor or in the top offices, is one of the principal challenges facing Saskatchewan's and Canada's labour movements, the PSUW included.

4. GENDER BARGAINING AT BELL CANADA

A generation ago, a job at the phone company was a job for life. In a place like Bell Canada, the management and technical staff was largely male, the clerical staff largely female, the technicians largely male and the operators largely female. The ghettoes were fairly airtight, to the point that the term "sexual harassment" may have been unfamiliar in part because they rarely met a man in the course of their employment.

After the Bell operators fought their way out of a company union into the Communications Workers, they had a substantial role in the elected leadership and in the design and facilitation of union education. Indeed, local unions were required to share the president and vice-president positions between the technicians (predominantly male) and the operators (predominantly female). Often, the articulate and well-networked operators occupied the president's chair. Among the worker educators, fully half were women, and an intense and very successful push was made by the union to assist transfer of women into non-traditional jobs in the higher-paid and more secure technician unit.

With the smashing of the Bell monopoly and the de-regulation of phone services, the explosion of technological change, and the fragmenting of Bell into a multiplicity of related companies, this stable and segregated system was torn apart. Union education was one place where the dialogue of men and women took place, during the efforts to shift gender relations and during the efforts to protect worker gains against the company offensive. Courses on public speaking, on collective bargaining, on leadership, on pay equity, women's rights and harassment became a forum where men and women could express their fears, their frustrations and their visions for different gender relations in the workplace and in the union. Some courses were held for women only, usually after strenuous objection from the men, and these were most easily done in Ontario at the operator-only local, Local 50. The president of that local, Ann Newman, became a public spokesperson on issues of race and gender, recognized as a leader among workers of colour in the union, both male and female. Often the exchanges were heated, both in the courses and in the union conferences and bargaining committees, but the union held together.

After the mid-1990's, the employer offensive on phone operators became an all-out attack. The employer ultimately closed most of its operator services, and contracted out all the jobs but a few in long distance. Those operators who had already transferred into the craft or technicians unit had a roller-coaster ride all their own, in a re-structured network of companies with names like Entourage. Those operators who moved to the new operator services provider saw their wages drop from $18 an hour to $10 an hour, and lost their union representation entirely. The majority took a severance package and moved into retirement or other work. The company even lacked the decency to pay up on obligations under a pay equity study completed in 1993.

Within the union, the merger that took place in late 1992 created the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada (CEP). At that time, none of the full-time national officers was a woman, and today the total is up to one. There are no workers of colour among the full-time officers. The education program was integrally connected to the rise and fall of this group's influence, and remains engaged in the work of the Women's Committee of CEP to this day.

Over a period of 25 years, phone operators came from non-unionized, under-paid and low-status jobs to win a place of dignity and shared leadership inside a union, only to have that place snatched away again. The NFB film "Dernier Appel", soon to appear in English translation, gives a feel for that experience. Any educator who accompanied them through the rise and fall of their collective power knows that the issues that divide men and women on the job are real, and susceptible to change by skilled and patient educational work. The big lesson is the extent to which employers benefit from under-paying women, and how they will fight in both subtle and brutal ways to protect the profits that this wage gap provides.

5. "LES FORMATRICES" AT THE FTQ

The largest union central in Québec, the FTQ, has an extensive worker educator program, and gender politics play out in both union structures and education activities. The terms in French bring another layer of thinking to the issues addressed at this session. The name FTQ is the Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec, after a sustained push by the women, which resulted a decade ago in the expansion of the name to include "travailleuses". Similarly, the worker educator program is known as the "formateur et formatrice" program, to emphasize the particular contribution of women. Affirming the presence of women in organizational life takes on a special character in the French language. At this level, major advances have occurred in Québec over the past decade, quite differently from other French-speaking countries.

Within the culture of Québec, the term "gender politics", as used in the title of this panel (or of "sexual politics" as the Australian and American writers often say) sounds quite strange. It initially is interpreted as "gender policies", not because the push for equality is any less but because the construction of male and female roles is different within Québec. The FTQ has a committee on the "condition féminine", again the outcome of a major push from women activists, and seats on the FTQ executive board reserved for women. All the non-reserved seats are occupied by men, suggesting that the victories in terminology have not carried into increased power at the decision-making level of the affiliated unions. The preference of FTQ activists to have few designated equity seats in union structures, and to focus on women's rights separately from other drives for equity are among the differences in approach from union practices in Canada.

The FTQ Education Department has developed over 3,000 union activists as volunteer educators of their fellow members over the past 27 years. In this network, women have played a major role, and have encouraged and supported the emergence of grassroots woman leaders. This has not been easy, since the training courses for "formateurs et formatrices" last a full week in residence, and this provides a major barrier for participation by women with parental responsibilities that is still far greater than for their male partners. Since the worker educator role is often a step into leadership and staff positions, being blocked at this level means women are blocked from future leadership in the movement.

Some courses have a particular "masculine resonance", notably collective bargaining. The culture which suggests that effective bargaining requires all-night marathons works against women with children, with the result that key bargaining issues like maternity leave may not get the attention they deserve At the base, the construction of the "bonne militante", the good union activist, involves attendance at evening union meetings, and in committees that often meet after work. Membership in those committees is a step towards being nominated for participation in courses. In turn, participation in those courses becomes the basis for nomination as a worker educator. At each step, barriers exist because of the domestic division of labour. When women do make it through these hoops, they are in turn often attracted to teaching courses like "communications", rather than the "hard" courses like bargaining and health and safety which are the most rapid path to union leadership roles.

In reflecting on the gender relations in the "formateurs and formatrices", more is involved than just numbers, or even the construction of union roles. The training itself involves a great deal of feedback and teamwork, since courses are ultimately taught jointly by two worker educators. It is becoming clear that male formateurs are ranked highly by colleagues and course participants when they transmit a good union message, whether or not they listen well. Female formatrices are ranked highly by colleagues and course participants when they develop a good rapport with the group, and are seen as empathetic with the needs of participants. At this deep level of male and female roles, we see different visions of education playing out.

In the Québec labour education context, then, gender politics are experienced in the language, the organization and the conduct of our major program. Exploring these issues with colleagues in Canada in a respectful theoretical and practical dialogue is a welcome and unusual experience.

6. ISSUES ARISING

In preparing this symposium, the five presenters bumped into a host of compelling questions that are only touched upon here. We hope that our brief presentations in the symposium will stimulate discussion of questions such as the following:

- What are major differences between Québec and Canada in the ways union education addresses issues of gender and inclusiveness?
- What contribution can union education make to changing the construction of "activism," "militancy" and "leadership" so that current barriers of access from those outside the white male mainstream are reduced?
- How do gender politics interact with race politics inside unions, and what role do formal education programs play in this interaction?
- Many writers and activists discuss the possibilities of feminizing leadership style to, among other things, make it more facilitative and less directive. How do such goals fit with existing union cultures? Are there examples of such leadership in unions?
- Feminist have called for making the process of leadership development into a more transparent and systematic program of planned mentoring and skills development. What might this look like?

Challenging questions such as these are neither optional nor marginal to the 'main business' of unionism. On the contrary, they are increasingly being understood very pragmatically as fundamental to the future viability of unionism across the industrialised world. Dramatic declines in traditionally male-dominated and unionized jobs in resource and industrial sectors have occurred along side a steady increase in female employment in unionized public sector jobs as well as in previously unorganized jobs in the service sector. All this has brought marked shifts in the composition of the workforce, and thus the future membership and identity of unions. In the face of all this, the 'brotherhood' has been challenged to re-invent itself - its patterns of recruitment, retention, and participation, as well as its models of activism, effectiveness and leadership - or see it's very survival called into question (Pocock, 1997; Cockburn, 1995; Hyman, 1994; White, 1993).

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Citizenship Education and Participatory Democracy: Macro and Micro Level Processes Within Diverse Contexts

A Symposium

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of University of Toronto

Maliha Chishti (PhD Candidate), Nicole Eagles (M.A Candidate),
Sukkyu Kim (Ph.D candidate) and Natalie Zur Nedden (MA Candidate)

Humanitarian Aid and Its implications on Capacity Building and Community Participation

Maliha Chishti

Over the past decade the international response of over 100 billion dollars in emergency humanitarian aid has been severely criticized for undermining local capacity, thereby exacerbating the dependency and vulnerability of these societies to recurring emergencies (Grunewald,1999). Studies have indicated that five and even ten years after the emergencies in Sri Lanka, Sierra Leone and Mozambique, local organizations are structurally disempowered to cope with emergencies and unfairly disadvantaged by outside relief and development agencies. This is particularly disturbing in the era of economic globalization, whereby the phenomena of "weak" and "collapsed" states have protracted humanitarian assistance, in what has been termed, complex political emergency (CPE) situations. Therefore, humanitarian assistance is no longer the immediate and short term alleviation of suffering, but has become practically conflated with subsequent reconstruction and development initiatives. Good intentions not withstanding, the humanitarian aid establishment has had difficulty with meeting its dual goals of responding to human needs in the midst of crisis, and also to work to build longer-term capacities among local organizations so that people are better able to deal with their own emergency problems.

Although there is widespread acceptance and practice of empowerment and local ownership and involvement in development programming, there is oddly a tremendous gap in research on the theory and practice of participatory involvement, local decision making and ownership in the agenda setting of emergency humanitarian assistance (Weiss and Collins,2000). As Smillie (2001) indicates, both academics and practitioners agree that this gap is problematic because building local capacity is not only considered a fundamental prerequisite for the effective deliverance of humanitarian aid, but which in turn, contributes to strengthening the foundation for further efforts in reconstruction, peacebuilding and development initiatives. There exists a tremendous need to examine the possibilities and constraints of using participatory concepts and practice to build local community and civil society capacity in the implementation of international humanitarian assistance. Some of the leading issues are the structural, operational and political constraints and complexities that impair the intentions of donors and implementing agencies to use participatory approaches in building local capacity, as well as analyzing approaches recently underway such as UNHCR's People Oriented Planning (POP) and the Capacity and Vulnerabilities Analysis (CVA). As *Patricia Delaney*, African Development Fund, USA remarks, "the time has come to take the lessons learned about participation in development and apply them across the humanitarian board".

There is arguably no longer a rigid divide between relief and development, as the two are seen as simultaneous in most complex political emergencies. In this regard, the extension of participatory development strategies within the humanitarian aid framework would seem possible, however, it is rarely practiced due to the distinctions in implementation, whereby relief work is carried out by specific NGOs and international organizations that unlike there development colleagues do not have a history of participatory programming. Nonetheless, as Delaney 1999 points out, some groups are beginning to implement participatory practices in relief programs, such as in refugee camps settings, and in communities experiencing droughts and famines, and in this process, interface with the local community in dynamic and progressive ways.

In order to conceptualize a discussion on participation and capacity building within the framework of humanitarian aid, a discursive framework that is inclusive of an anti-colonial perspective, by critical development theories and participatory development analyses and critiques is warranted. For instance, the construct of humanitarianism itself must be critically interrogated in the context of neo-imperialism and the modernization project of relief and development programmes, as well as the military, political and economic practices that inform global liberal governance. Anti-colonial perspectives also question the origins and practices of structural forms of dependency, marginalization and unequal access to power and decision making. To contextualize humanitarian aid in local settings, John Friedman's "empowerment and inclusive democracy model" is an important framework for adult educators to reflect on, as it places emphasis on autonomy and empowerment of local communities to restructure and recover their rights as active agents and decision makers in their communities. These types of emerging frameworks establish how genuine empowerment can never be conferred from outside, outlining new ways adult educators can build on the principles of participatory involvement, by calling on the need to restructure power relations in efforts to promote local ownership and the sustainability of operations.

Adult Education and the Soul: Beyond the Neo-Liberal Agenda

Nicole Eagles

It is ironic that given the state of our world today, adult education, a field which emerged for the purpose of addressing social change remains decidedly split as to how such change may most effectively be achieved. When there is an obvious urgency for some breakthrough-radical-shift in consciousness to occur, adult educators remain stuck in their own theoretical frameworks that dichotomize the role of the individual and the collective.

In the following presentation I address one of the main tensions within the field of adult education, that is what should constitute the primary focus of study. This manifests as what appears to be an irreconcilable difference between the individual versus the collective as the basic unit of study. This tension represents a schism in the field with self-directed learning (SDL) and similarily personal transformation theories on one side and critical and emancipatory pedagogy (EP) on the other. I discuss the limitations of both approaches to social change and suggest the need for a reconceptualize of individual and society.

As mentioned above, the individual/collective dichotomy is most readily observed in what is regarded as two opposing methods to social change in adult education- self-directed learning and emancipatory pedagogy. The view assumed by emancipatory theorists defines individual change as a by-product of societal change through the practice of conscious-raising and building collective solidarity. In my own experience working for social justice I have observed how an emancipatory or liberationist notion of collective self-determination can preclude individual self-determination. One of the main weaknesses of an emanicipatory approach where the focus is creating a voice in public policy is individuals who are suffer the most marginalization end up falling by the way- side, while the momentum of the group itself carries on with its goals and agenda. The inherent contradictions in an emancipatory notion of individual and collective self-determination are reflected in a statement made by Collins (1998): "Prospects for a genuine participatory democracy cannot be realized in absense of informed political engagement by the majority of ordinary men and women" (p.110). I suggest that 'informed political engagement' by itself cannot lead to a 'genuine participatory democracy'. Such simplistic, linear renderings of social justice is the underlying rational that perpetuates the contradictions that exist between individual and collective self-determination as mentioned above.

Alternatively, practitioners of self-directed learning maintain that larger social change begins with change within the individual. Similarily, Mezirow's transformatiom theory assumes that individual transformation precedes social transformation (Cranton, 1998). Beatty (1992) attempts to resolve the individual-society dichotomy, maintaining that education empowers individuals to engage in social change. Again, similar to an emacipatory approach, such a view, gives a rather flattened, linear rendering of the interconnection between individual and society and fails to speak to the true nature of this relationship, in all its complexity.

The complexity that I am referring to is the Soul. What is currently lacking in adult education is an understanding of the Soul that would ultimately involve a re-conceptualization of how individual change and societal change happen simultaneously.
In order for the field of adult education to move forward in its mission for social change, I believe that these two competing notions of how adults learn represented by SDL and EP approaches must somehow be bridged so they may be understood through a more complementary lens. This bridge is represented by the soul and how it specifically relates to speech. To elucidate the relationship between soul and speech I draw on Gamlin and Cook's (2000) notion of "authentic dialogic interaction" (p. 5) and integrate it with their notion of lifelong learning as both "creative and discursive" (p. 1). 'Authentic dialogic interaction' refers to a process of "personal meaning-making [which] is always social, that is co-operative" (p. 5). I also incorporate the work of Ken Wilbur (1998) and his three modes of understanding: monological, dialogical and translogical, in an attempt to explain how the workings of soul and speech establish the foundation for a participatory democracy.

Participatory Democracy and Oppressed Peoples' Hegemony in the Third World.

Sukkyu Kim

While there have been many articles and books regarding the politics of participatory democracy, they are usually based on Western experiences. I want to extend the existing discussions to the Third World contexts through comparing the deliberative democracy in Kerala, India; Porto Alegre, Brazil; and South Korea. Unlike South Korea, Kerala and Porto

Alegre have been successful in promoting oppressed people's deliberative participation in political decision-making.

Regarding the preconditions of participatory democracy, my argument is that oppressed people's hegemony in the civil society is a pivotal factor along with other factors, such as the establishment of basic citizenship rights and the reformist leadership of working-class party. In his comparative study of deliberative grass-roots democracy in Kerala, South Africa, Porto Alegre, Patrick Heller's (2001) suggests three preconditions for democratic decentralization: a high degree of central state capacity (for securing citizenship rights), a well-developed civil society (for organizing people's active participation), and a decentralized political deliberation system (directed by leftist party and popular movements) (pp. 138-39). However, in my opinion, the success of Porto Alegre and Kerala has resulted primarily from the oppressed people's hegemony in the civil society.

The success of Porto Alegre and Kerala comes from the massive grassroots participation and the increased accountability of local governance (preventing corruption and benefiting marginalized people). Porto Alegre's Participatory Budgeting (PB) under the leadership of the Workers' Party (PT) municipality of Porto Alegre since 1989 is the process of a public budget construction which combines direct participation and distributive justice. It is noticeable in the two points that the marginalized poor people (women, and lower classes) are the main participants, and that they get benefits of basic social services not from corrupted brokering populism but from direct participation. The People's Planning Campaign of Kerala State (1996 to 2001) is a decentralized planning process, which is based on the long historical tradition of people's participation in political decision making under the leadership of the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPM).

For promoting participatory democracy in the Third World contexts, where political deliberation and citizenship rights are only for privileged classes, Kerala and Porto Alegre are good examples of overcoming these limits with oppressed people's hegemony (the people's capacity for organizing grass roots movements) in the civil society. In Kerala, oppressed people's hegemony in the civil society has been established through mobilization and organization of rural workers in literacy campaigns and trade unions since the 1920s. The CPM also organized a vast range of grass roots movements with women, students, and peasants as well as laborers. In the People's Campaign for the Ninth Plan in 1997, 2.5 million people attended *Gramasabha* assemblies (neighborhood assemblies for identifying people's needs) and 5,000 volunteer technical experts were engaged in Volunteer Technical Corps for appraisal and approval of plans (Issaac, 2000, p. 4).

Porto Alegre's Participatory Budgeting (PB) is also based on militant working-class movements like Kerala's Campaign for the Ninth Plan. In major Bazilian urban cities where there is a high concentration of disenfranchized population, the Popular Movement (*O Movimento Popular*: MP, urban poor people's community groups) has organized the Cost-of-Living Movement, the Popular Housing Movement, the Health Movement, and the Movements for Collective Transportation (Alvarez, 1997). As the MP organized popular assemblies and city-wide or regional councils of neighborhood groups, these informal and collective forums became the basis of participants of the PB.

Compared to Kerala and Porto Alegre, South Korean experiences in partcipatory democracy and citizenship development has been not successful. The modernization of South Korea has been led by an authoritative (neo-liberal since the mid-1990s) capitalist development regime that has excluded workers from the political sphere. However, in the general strike in

1997, Korean labor movements led civic groups against the amendment of Labor Law and National Security Agency Law. The worker's general strikes and citizens' protests succeeded in causing the withdrawal of the amendment. The Korean workers' action of defending citizenship rights against neo-liberal politics contributed to the development of the Korean civil society as well as the establishment of oppressed people's hegemony in the civil society. Korean labor movements try to promote participatory democracy through the process of building the Korean Democratic Labor Party.

In spite of the oppressed people's hegemony in the civil society, the hegemony of the oppressed in Porto Alegere and Kerala is different from old Marxist's (e.g. Antonio Gramsci) proposal of working class hegemony and vanguardism. The PT and CPM do not try to confirm their hegemony through dominance over the executives (e.g. mayors of Porto Alegere) and volunteering delegates (e.g. councilors of the PB). Instead, the PT and CPM establish the oppressed people's hegemony through the autonomy and vitality of grassroots participants. For example, because of participants' mass pressure, the legislative body has endorsed the decision of the PB, which has no formal legal recognition. In the case of Kerala, the CPM tried to part with power through the decentralized planning processes, and so the "role of the State Planning Board becomes redundant in the wake of the progressive institutionalization of the exercise [grassroots participation]" (*Businessline*; Islamabad; September 2, 1999).

Finally, I should mention about the educational dimension of participatory democracy, which incorporates transformative learning because deliberative participation is in itself the learning process. Political efficacy (or political empowerment), political knowledge, and civic responsibility are main outcomes of citizenship learning in the deliberative participation. In the PB processes, participants felt political efficacy after seeing that their decision to pave the road had been realized. They also began to understand the procedure of decision making, and then share civic virtues such as equal opportunities of speech. Kerala people also made the *Panchayat* (local) plan with the knowledge of people's needs and local resources.

La Toile Magique: Barriers to citizenship education or success story

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In September 2000, the Ministry of Education of Québec (MEQ) began to implement the new educational reform, *L'École, tout un programme*. The implementation of this new policy will be complete in 2006. It will touch all levels of education - from kindergarten to university, including adult education. One of the most important changes is the implementation of citizenship education in the curriculum. November 2001 Montreal, Quebec saw its first *Colloque Sur L'Éducation à la Citoyenneté* (Citizenship Education Conference). On January 8th, 2002, All the teachers in Quebec boycotted Quebec's newest education policy.

Several reports and articles (Virage du succès, Conseil Superieur de l'Éducation (CSE), Vie Pedagogique) and the first citizenship education conference in Montreal advocated a concept that caught my attention. "Citizenship should be seen as the ability to live together in a democratic, pluralistic society that is open to the world – and even more - as the ability to work together to build a *just and equitable* society [italics mine] CSE[1] 97/98" Considering the sociolinguistic issues dominating Québec for the past few decades, and the multiple unresolved issues regarding the first nations of Québec, I viewed the concept of just and equitable as controversial. Furthermore, I wondered, just and equitable for whom?

In this symposium I will briefly go over the MEQ's main objective of implementing the new educational reform. Then, through the lens of a high school intercultural project, La Toile Magique, I will contrast the activities and outcomes of the project to the desired outcomes of the citizenship education curriculum. The result of this activity will highlight some barriers to citizenship education and its impact on teachers and learners.

La Toile Magique is an intercultural art based project, Québec's first of its kind. The project took place between two schools: a non-native high school in Laval, Québec, la polyvalente Le Boisé, and a native (Montagnais/Innu) high school 700 kilometers east of Montreal, Betsiamites, Québec. 25 students in total participated in this project: 12 from Betsiamites and 13 from Laval. The youth drew and painted on a 50 feet by 5 feet canvas (toile). La toile traveled between the schools for over 6 months. In May 2001 the 25 youth met for the first time and spent 9 days and nights together to finish the project. The entire process was video recorded by one student from Le Boise, and was professionally documented (the release of the documentary will be in April 2002).

La Toile Magique faced many challenges, but with a lot of work and perseverance Nykol and Marjolaine, the directors, made this árts-based citizenship education project an enormous success. The challenges the youth and directors of the project experienced are of direct relevance to adult educators for it is adult educators that educate future teachers.

There are tensions that exist and are not addressed between the aboriginal and non-aboriginal community. Why did this particular intercultural exchange experience more barriers than an intercultural exchange between a school in France and Québec, for example? As adult educators we need to address the systemic racist structures in our society. As educators and learners we need to work collectively and in solidarity against racism. If the ideology behind citizenship education in Québec is to "*mieux vivre ensemble*" (to live together more harmoniously), and to work together for a just and equitable society" do we not owe it to all the youth that their engagement in citizenship education is successful and meaningful? As adult educators we have a responsibility to unlearn our social construct of the "other" in order to educate for citizenship with integrity. We must not forget that,

> It was in the name of Canadian citizenship, for example, that First Nations children were sent to residential schools where the use of their native language was forbidden and their indigenous cultures were brought under attack, for only in this way, it was argued, could they be turned into good Canadian citizens (Osborne, 2000, p.14).

We still need to do a lot of work to right the wrongs we did, and provide a historical perspective that will help students deconstruct the stereotypes they have learned. And, so again I question building a more just and equitable society for whom? I may be belabouring the point, but I feel that these issues need to be addressed. Giroux quotes Herbert Marcuse,

> If 'education' is to be more than simple training for the status quo it means not only enabling man *(sic)* to know and understand the facts which make up reality but also to know and understand the factors that establish the facts so that he *(sic)* can change their inhuman reality (Giroux,1980 p.337).

If the purpose to educate for citizenship is to help citizens "work together to build a just and equitable society, educators need to give tools to the young and old that will address and challenge the staus quo. The outcome of citizenship eduction must be equitable and just for all.

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Five Feminists: Perspectives on Public Policy and Adult Education

Abstract: This symposium presentation overviews five different feminist perspectives on policy issues that impact upon adult education, including the development of international declarations and policy positions, gender inequity in the workplace and homeplace, and feminist activist work.

Within the current discourses on the development of public policy, women's perspectives are often inadequately addressed. This symposia draws upon the perspectives of five feminist educators located across Canada to raise concerns about public policy and adult education. The first panelist addresses divergent perspectives in feminist approaches to assess how different policy positions evolve from various value and analysis starting points, arguing that to understand how adult education is linked with policy development, these core value and analytical questions need to be central to our discussions. The second panelist outlines some of the contributions to policy inquiries that can be made through feminist scholarship by examining feminist activist and advocacy roles around issues such as anti-poverty work. The third panelist explores gender inequity in workplace learning experiences for women, where women are marginalized, their skills and knowledge often devalued, and domestic responsibilities diminish their opportunities to continually learn the new skills required in the current economy. The fourth panelist examines the homeplace as a central site of learning and experience for women that is often neglected or overlooked in the current discourses on lifelong learning that tend to focus predominantly on the marketplace. The final panelist develops a Marxist-feminist critique to develop a gender analysis of the adult education international declarations.

Each of the presenters raise key questions to examine underlying value and belief systems that frame public policy development, pointing out the ways in which women's perspectives, experiences, and needs are often overlooked or poorly addressed in public policy discourses. They raise questions of concern to all adult educators in examining important issues in the development of public policy: attention to gender differences, questions of equity and power, and exposure of underlying patriarchal values that structure much of current policy formation. Rather than simply suggesting these are areas where women need to be included, the presenters explore radical and alternative views of how public policy should be debated and formulated. They provide theoretical and empirical evidence to demonstrate the exclusionary and limited focus of current procedures and discourses in policy development, and promote an alternative, more holistic and critical perspective on public policy debates affecting adult education.

Feminist responses to neo-liberal policy agendas

Angela Miles
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"Part of the fanaticism of the economic system that we now call globalisation, part of its bigotry, is that it pretends that no alternative is possible. And it's simply not true." (John Berger, "Tragedy on a global scale," Guardian Weekly 7-13 June 2001:19).

Currently in Canada both Provincial and Federal government policy in all areas is being developed within a hegemonic neo-liberal frame. This presentation will outline the main precepts of this agenda and its implications for women, examine the sources of its ascendancy, and describe potential feminist educational and political responses.

Using global feminist and environmental perspectives the author will argue, with attention to the impact of events on and since Sept. 11 (and with reference to specific policy examples) , that progressive adult educators in this period must challenge neo-liberal presumptions and policy goals, not just seek to influence their shape and application. The presentation will delineate important elements of such a challenge and point to the emerging shape of possible alternatives.

The misogynist tendencies of neo-liberal policy reform: A call for renewed vigilance

Shauna Butterwick
University of British Columbia

For several years now, I have linked with a small group of low income women, many of them anti-poverty activists, through an action research project. And more recently I have joined with other researchers and feminist academics to document and resist the recent reforms initiated in blitzkrieg fashion by the newly elected BC Liberal government. Working in solidarity with low income women is a crucial standpoint from which to examine and uncover the ideology of neo-conservative policy reforms, reforms grounded in a view of the market "as the best regulator of all needs, including social ones" (Griffin Cohen, 1997, p. 29). Other key elements of neo-conservative ideology include a belief that "...the chief impediments to economic recovery are large government deficits, which they see as principally the result of social spending" (Guest, 1985, p. 235). Human capital theory is also crucial to neo-conservative agendas reflecting a view of workers as, what Ian Baptiste calls, "homo economica": "radically isolated, pleasure-seeking materialists who are born free of social constraints, who possess no intrinsic sociability and who are driven...by the desire for material happiness and bodily security" (p. 195). Needless to say, 'homo economica' is a man.

In this collequium, I want to make a case for activist policy research, an approach that challenges neo-conservative views of government as "...entrepreneurial managers of contracts with non-government organizations..[where] performance is controlled by means of contractualist techniques of setting and monitoring performance targets and standards (Yeatman, 1998, p. 8). An activist policy orientation is based on the values of an "interventionist and democratic state". I also call for feminist policy research informed by a critical feminist standpoint materialistic framework. Dorothy Smith (1997) calls for research that works with women, that explicates how "...the organization of social relations has accomplished [women's] exclusion" (p. 78). Such an approach requires that feminist researchers work in solidarity with women who are being further marginalized by neo-conservative reforms. Furthermore, I suggest that the differential effects of these reforms on women, particularly low-income women, reflect another key character of neo-conservative ideology—a deep seated misogyny (Stalker, 2001). Stalker suggests that using the concept misogyny "...challenges us to move away from 'nice' concepts that have failed to deliver safe and productive pathways for women" (p. 288). Misogyny combined with racism, classism, heterosexism (closely tied to misogynist views), ablism, and agism makes for a potent stew.

To illustrate the above-mentioned arguments, here are some highlights of the recent changes brought about by the Liberals. Increase (.5%) in sales tax; introduction of a training wage of $6/hour; seniors supplement to be phased out; cuts to welfare rates of 18%; cuts to BC Family Bonus program; single mothers on welfare must find paid work when their youngest child is three; elimination of family maintenance program; elimination of earning exemption; 83% of health care cuts were women's jobs; 33% of all jobs lost were by immigrants or people of color; cuts to funding for programs in colleges and institutes that supported students on welfare; dismantling of before and after school care; cuts to bursary and summer employment programs for students; cuts to bus passes for seniors; cuts to Pharmacare; significant increases to tuition fees; the dismantling of union contracts (including hard won provisions regarding wage parity); cuts to child care support; abandonment of a public child care initiative; closure of a women's prison; dismantling of the Open Learning Agency; closures of hospitals and municipal courts; 50% increase in medical insurance; delisting of many medications formerly covered by Pharmacare; privatization of health care services; $360 million cut to funding of Ministry of Children and Families; closure of Landlord and Tenant offices; social housing projects frozen; closing of residential care facilities; elimination of funding to women's centres; cuts to Legal Aid and Human Rights Commission; elimination of Crown Victim Witness Services Program; cuts to Ombudsman office.

One of the women I've been working with described the net effects of these cuts and reforms on her sense of the future by stating, "Close all the exits and then yell fire".

Gender and learning in the workplace

Tara Fenwick
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Within the debates about lifelong learning, paid work has become arguably one of the most significant and contested sites of knowledge development and pedagogical intervention. But despite the current emphasis on opening workplace learning for wider opportunity and more holistic approaches, a closer look reveals that gendered inequality persists in both access to and experience of these learning opportunities. Gendered work conditions persist: Canadian women continue to be segregated in service, banking, clerical, and hospitality-related occupations where pay and promotion are lower, and earn an average of 72.8% of men's earnings, which drops to 67.3% for self-employed women and 57.8% for visible minority employed women (Statistics Canada, 2000). Meanwhile, gendered family responsibilities continue to restrict access to both formal and informal work-based learning opportunities for primary childcare-givers - who in Canada as elsewhere are overwhelmingly women (Hughes, 1999). And as Duxbury and Higgins (2001) report, Canadian women report significantly greater role overload, work-family conflict, and stress and depression related to work-family balance than men. But these structural inequities are easily masked in the current neo-liberal political economy of Canada, where ideals of self-reliance and individualist pursuit of unlimited choice tend to frame equity issues as barriers experienced by individuals generally, who simply need to be empowered to responsibly create their own economic opportunity.

Gendered Access to Work-Related Learning Opportunities. Probert (1999) shows that women in part-time or casual work are extended little opportunity for work-related training or promotion, and women's overall lower income suggest their more limited ability to pay for job-related training. Informal learning often relies on networks and special projects which women continue to have difficulty accessing. McFarlane (1999) argues that absence of sponsorship is the most significant barrier to job training for women. However, various federal programs specifically for women, providing tuition, expenses, and training-job transition, were discontinued after 1996 during deep government funding cuts in Canada - followed by large drops in women's enrollment in training.

Gendered Determination of Skill. But the liberal approach of granting women access to training is a deficit model, ignoring the exclusion of women's knowledge, experiences, and desires. Hierarchies still distinguish between men's and women's skills and contribute to the erasure of women's forms and processes of learning. Women's knowledge developed through domestic labor is often unacknowledged or perceived to reduce their job capability. Feminist critics have shown training is a site of struggle for control of knowledge and power at work, and 'skill' is a subjective notion, traditionally guarded to protect those in power. Jackson (1991) is among those who call for critical analysis of how working knowledge is organized, whose experience it validates, and how it affects competency standards for occupations, pay, decision-making and training.

Gender Inequities in the New Economy. Workers are increasingly expected to adapt flexibly to new jobs, technologies and work locations, to become multi-skilled, and to develop the skills necessary to 'perform' decision-making in self-directed cooperative work teams. Informal learning and team development often increase workload, responsibility and overtime, and little material benefit may accrue to women who do invest significant time and resources in the new regime. Schied et al. (2001) found that women are expected to fit their own and others' training and learning activities into already full schedules without compensation. Boundaries between work and home are erased, and norms embedded in continuous learning discourses reinforce norms of a white, middle-class, 'cheery' and docile femininity that undercut all resistance to gendered work, pay and training.

We need to question more loudly who benefits in learning-for-earning discourses, how different learning is valued, and what changes are necessary to address the obvious inequities in workplace learning. As adult educators we can and must re-awaken feminist calls for equity, feminist challenge to contemporary discourses in the New Economy, and feminist advocacy for women's learning and positionality within the market economy.

Policy discourses on lifelong learning and learning in the homeplace

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Increasingly, the concept of lifelong learning is promoted within academic and policy discourses (Hake, 1999). Lifelong learning is heralded as a necessity for survival within the world of globalized capitalism. The need to compete is the driving force behind the current widespread support for lifelong learning. Yet there is a curious lack of willingness to critically examine the underlying beliefs and values that sustain this focus on lifelong learning as a positive and almost inevitable trend.

While discourses in lifelong learning have expanded to include issues around citizenship and civil society (Welton, 1998), one site for learning that is consistently overlooked is that of the homeplace. This lack of recognition for the types of learning and importance of labour that occurs within the homeplace leads to a gendered devaluation of the circumstances and conditions that often inform and situate women's learning experiences. This has important implications for the policy development that pertains to adult learning in particular, and social policies in general. For instance, as Hart (1997) notes, "motherwork" is a uniquely gendered and specific form of labour and learning that is often discounted within academic discourses and the broader society. Educational discourses frequently omit the significance of learning that occurs within subsistence based work experiences, and social policies such as welfare 'reform' often demean the unpaid labour of many women. In this presentation, a critical feminist critique of the market-driven focus of current discourses in lifelong learning is developed by examining the homeplace as a central learning site of particular importance for women.

Gender equality in the shadow of patriarchy

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The United Nations has sponsored four world conferences on women since 1975. The outcome of these conferences has, undoubtedly, impacted the global status of women. Among others, one can claim, with a greater certainty, that overall awareness on gender relations is raised and there is increased international attention to women's rights. However, there is growing evidence that indicates an overall decline in the quality of women's lives. This research offers a Marxist-feminist critique of three declarations produced at adult education international conferences: the *Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning* (1997, Hamburg, Germany); *The Damascus Declaration* (2000, Damascus, Syria); and the *Ocho Rios Declaration* (2001, Ocho Rios, Jamaica). These documents have been selected due to their significance in setting national and international adult education policy agenda. Equally important in this selection is the author's first-hand personal knowledge of their construction process; she took part in these conferences and in the drafting and discussing of the documents. The intimate knowledge of the process gives me an 'insider' advantage in reading the texts. This will not be a detached reading of these texts; it is, rather, a reading much informed by the context, actors, and omissions.

By Marxist-Feminist framework, I mean a framework that is historical, materialist, dialectical and critical. An historical materialist framework implies that it is not possible to understand the significance of adult education in its global scene simply by tracing the *idea* of it. Rather, we should analyse any given phenomena by tracing how it has unfolded in relation to the political economy. By dialectical, I mean that we view social phenomena "as either part of or the result of a relation, a unity of two opposites that could not have historically developed nor exist as they presently do outside the way in which they are related" (Allman, 1999, p. 63). When I say critical, I am referring to the process uncovering social relations that are hidden beneath what we take as common sense, or surface reality. A useful way to clarify the meaning of Marxist-feminism is to locate it within the larger body of feminist theory and practice. Marxist-feminism looks at patriarchy as the regime of the exercise of male gender power. In this framework, patriarchy is not reduced to any single component such as ideas, habits, law, language, discourses, and customs; rather, it is through the dialectical relationship of these components in history that patriarchy is created, and thereby creating the conditions of its own reproduction. Marxist-feminists view feminism as a conscious intervention in the hierarchically organized regime of gender power. Concepts such as dominance, the unequal division of power, oppression, and exploitation are crucial not only to understanding patriarchy but also to the politics of intervening in and overthrowing patriarchal rule. This theoretical/conceptual repertoire distinguishes Marxist-feminism from liberal and postmodernist feminisms, and reveals its ties with anti-racist and anti-colonial feminism. In other words, this is a feminism with *explicit* emancipatory goals.

Based on this framework of analysis, this paper argues that there is a great divide between the objectives of these documents and the extra-textual reality. The documents advocate gender equality; promote women's access to social services and security; demand more participation of women in decision-making, in peace making, in sustaining communities and the environment, and in cultivating a culture of tolerance and inclusion. The declarations also recommend means to achieve gender equality; they set national goals and accountability mechanisms. However, looking at the conditions of women's lives, it seems that we are far from achieving these goals. Gender relations, far from being autonomous, are tied to the web of power relations that constitute our world. Nevertheless, international declarations relegate gender change to the market, the state, and recently, non-government organizations so that the principle agents of change are themselves organs of patriarchal power. I argue that gender inequality is the condition and the product of the exercise of patriarchal power; it will be difficult, therefore, to constrain patriarchal power in the absence of powerful feminist and women's movements. At the same time, feminist movements are conscious, rather than spontaneous modes of resistance. They are products of theoretical, intellectual and cultural effort. I argue that adult education should strengthen its ties with social movements, and should listen to the great majority of people in the world who are suffering.

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Women and Literacy:— What are some of the Issues?

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Abstract: The purpose of this symposium is to present diverse and contested perspectives on literacy and women as it pertains to the adult literacy field. These views are not usually heard in the adult literacy arena and are often ignored by policy makers.

Introduction

In spite of the fact that more than 50% of enrollees in adult basic education classes are female (Development Associates, 1993), literacy programs often do not take into consideration gender differences in acculturation, cognitive development, experiences, and interests. (Carmack, 1992). For example, while men and women share some of the same obstacles when it comes to attending programs, women often have added issues of lack of family support and various family responsibilities (Carmack, 1992; Nonesuch, 1998). The concerns, goals, cultures, and languages should help structure the basis of all literacy work (Fingeret, 1990). Therefore, participatory approaches need to recognize and respect the knowledge, experiences, and interests of all learners (Fingeret, 1989). To date, there has been very little attention focused on the needs of female literacy learners (Horsman, 1997; Imel, 1996). This symposium will focus on the following issues: women's health and literacy; violence and trauma and how they relate to women and literacy; women-centered adult literacy materials; sexual orientation and adult literacy; Native women and literacy.

Health Literacy and Women

The American Medical Association has officially recognized that poor literacy is an obstacle to diagnosis and treatment (Parker, et. al, 1999). As a result, many health professionals are beginning to realize that their health educational practices include literacy demands that are too high for many patients. Similarly, many adult literacy providers are realizing that health is an important topic, but they lack good instructional materials (Rudd, Zacharia, & Daube, 1998). The focus of this presentation will be to analyze these current trends from a women and literacy perspective. Preliminary results from a current study will also be shared.

It is important to analyze how health literacy is defined. A common definition is: "Health literacy is a constellation of skills, including the ability to perform basic reading and numerical tasks required to function in the health care environment" (Parker, et al, 1999, p. 553). An advantage of this type of definition is the inclusion of numeracy as part of the skills necessary to navigate and utilize health-related information. However, this definition assumes that the onus of responsibility is on the patient, omits receptive and expressive oral communication skills, and ignores the importance of cultural belief systems.

Some medical professionals have been attracted to health literacy assessments. The assessments that are commonly used have good reliability, are very quick to administer (less than 10 minutes), and provide an indication of a patient's health literacy level. The intention to diagnose low literacy is a good one-if the patient has poor literacy skills; the assumption is that the medical professional can decrease the use of difficult verbal and printed vocabulary. However, if a patient scores at a low literacy level, important concerns abound. Will medical professionals have handy a list of adult literacy program referrals? Can sick patients really perform to their potential on these tasks? If a doctor wants to know whether a patient has difficulty with reading, are there not less intrusive ways, such as asking the patient to complete a form? Finally, is it really necessary to distinguish in a medical setting the difference between low and high literate patients? Research has indicated that even college educated women have difficulty understanding and utilizing medical information to determine the benefit of mammography to decrease their risk of dying from breast cancer (Schwartz, Woloshin, Black, & Welch, 1997).

Some medical professionals have advocated the use of an interpreter/reader to help low reading patients in the health care setting. However, when children (sons/daughters, nieces/nephews) are utilized, issues of a woman's sexuality, domestic violence, and other concerns will not be addressed. Others advocate the use of easy to read user-friendly materials. While some researchers have shown the effectiveness of this type of approach (e.g., Dowe, Lawrence, Carlson, & Keyserling, 1997), others have not. For example, Davis and her colleagues (1998) found in their study that the use of a colorful, culturally appropriate, easy-to read (fifth grade) brochure was not effective in improving mammography utilization. Instead, Davis and her colleagues have found that videos are effective in transmitting health related information to low literate women. Others advocate the use of pictographs. When using pictographs, medical professionals provide pictures while describing instructions/procedures. Patients take home the pictures and use them as cues to remember the information. In one study, 85% of specific steps in fever/sore throat care were remembered when the information was presented through pictures, compared to 15% of the steps when the information was only presented orally (Houtes, et al., 1998). Finally, in a study currently being conducted by Greenberg and Baldwin, it appears that women who read below the third grade reading levels can increase their mammography and breast cancer knowledge by engaging in a cd rom program designed to transmit facts in a culturally appropriate, non intimidating manner.

The issue of health literacy can play an important role in classrooms where discussions are held as an impetus to literacy work. However, it can be difficult to approach the topic of disease in the classroom. Some recommendations that can help facilitate the discussion are:

- Start with students' current knowledge, and ask them what they want to learn
- Create a context for the disease through videos and story reading, to help learners relate to the disease
- Ask students to discuss their associations with different parts of the body
- Address physical, emotional, spiritual, and cultural issues
- Respect the power of peer group influence
- Evaluate the materials that are utilized for cultural appropriateness
- Give learners a choice of whether they want to study/discuss a specific topic.

Violence and Trauma

A disproportionate number of women with histories or current occurrences of personal, political, or sexual trauma participate in adult education. These include refugees, victims and survivors of domestic violence and/or childhood sexual abuse, as well as those who have witnessed terror. A slow growing number of adult literacy workers have known all along that understanding how trauma affects learning is as important to classroom work as is mastery of content information and methodologies. While this paradigm shift continues, a tendency still exists to view adult learners' backgrounds as peripheral to learning processes (Isserlis, 2000). Practitioner researchers are exploring how addressing impacts of trauma can increase women's access and ability to education (Horsman, 2000). Through work with others in workshops and at conferences and through the dissemination of books and articles, they are making this knowledge base more widely available to literacy workers around the world.

Attention to ways in which learning is impeded and to ways in which learning strategies might be strengthened is an important piece of work that literacy practitioners do. My own research has shown that adult literacy and language workers in Rhode Island, like their counterparts around North America, have varying degrees of understandings of and interest in the ways in which learners' experiences of trauma have direct bearing on their abilities to learn. From a policy perspective, these attitudes have significance in building support for ancillary services for learners as well as in shifting power imbalances within educational programs. Many of the learners enrolled in adult education programs are mandated to attend a certain number of hours in order to become or remain eligible for cash assistance or related benefits. For those coming into adult education from a K-12 system that has already failed them, the stakes are high. Add to this tension the burden of learning when personal safety is not a given and the need for policy and pedagogy to address these issues becomes far more clear.

In this presentation, I propose ways in which to further thought and action that address the learning needs of all women — regardless of their status *vis-à-vis* trauma. Initiatives undertaken[1] include proactive outreach to colleagues whose 'clients' are adult learners - social service, child welfare and other workers whose interactions with adult learners have impacts on learners' abilities to even attend classes, in some instances, and to understand how systems work (or don't work) together as a whole. Work with mothers and children in a battered women's shelter also taught me that not only do educators need to understand the dynamics of violence in order to address learning more effectively; domestic violence workers themselves need a clearer understanding of how learning is affected by violence. Whereas women living in the community have issues impacting their learning; those in shelters confront numerous other stressors — uncertainty about permanent housing, sudden entrance into communal living, supervision of their own child raising — and can not be expected to "just learn if we bring in the state literacy teachers we worked with before." Readers with familiarity with domestic violence provision will not be surprised to learn of the counter productive turf wars being waged within the shelter movement; educators working with women in shelter need orientation to and awareness of the issues of violence and cannot simply graft a learning site into a shelter setting. There is much work to be done in areas of policy and funding if we are to address literacy related needs both within and beyond the educational settings in which women are found.

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[1] Much of the work described here was initially supported by a 1999-2000 Literacy Leader fellowship of the National Institute for Literacy.

By broadening our understandings of what literacy is and how women come to acquire and use it, we hope to strengthen learning opportunities for women both with and without histories of trauma. Ongoing efforts in increased awareness of impacts of trauma, particularly in light of its pervasiveness since September 11, 2001, are being undertaken by projects such as World Education's Women, Violence and Adult Education project, as well as contesting voices that would silence literacy workers' efforts to integrate body, mind, spirit, and emotion into adult learning practice. A broad sense of practitioners' awareness of the issue can be gauged by periodic glimpses onto discussion lists — not only those focused on women and literacy, but also those addressing English language acquisition and intergenerational literacy. For example, the following statement is taken from a listserv devoted to issues of women and literacy:

> I have no problem with this discussion on the listserv, but I have not personally experienced violence nor has anyone told me that she is in a violent situation. I do believe that there is violence against women and that such violence should be stopped. When I began volunteer work, the education coordinator told that me that should I become aware of "special needs" on the part of my students, there were resources available. Fortunately (?!), such a request has not been made. I have not seen any visible signs of abuse so I have assumed that there has not been any violence against my students. My silence stems from inexperience. I do not know what to say so I listen and try to learn. Dana Cooper, Volunteer ESL Teacher Philadelphia, PA, Posted to the National Institute for Literacy Women and Literacy listserv, Wed, 27 Sep 2000.

The author graciously gave permission for the above listserv posting to be reprinted in the report I submitted upon completion of my fellowship project; however, I never unpacked the statement as fully as I would have liked to do. My hope is that during my time to speak within the symposium, (of which this paper is a brief summary) we can collectively look at the writer's honesty in responding to an issue that had been hitherto invisible to her. One of the tensions of this symposium and of our work on a larger level is in raising awareness in ways that support those for whom this is new learning while also respectively and constructively challenging ourselves to push harder at the edges of 'conventional' wisdom to create and recreate our own understandings of what it is we do and how it is we do it.

On the Margins of the Margins: Breaking Silence and Coming Out

For the past several years, my work has focused on researching the availability of women-centered adult literacy materials. Based on my experience as a feminist bookseller, I developed three guiding principle assumptions for this work:

- Literacy learners and literacy workers need women-centered, women-positive basic-level English literacy materials and women-centered literacy curriculum.

- Such materials must be created in a participatory process involving adult women learners as contributors-advisors and leaders-in naming the areas and genres and formats of the reading materials to be developed.
- Adult women learners will gain positive benefit from creative, accessible, and meaningful basic literacy materials that address women's issues.

I have talked with numbers of literacy workers, librarians, and adult women learners about these issues. From them I have learned that both women learners AND literacy workers perceive a need for women-centered literacy materials. Women learners had a lot to say on this topic- once they were asked. They would read more often if interesting materials in simple/basic English were more easily available, and if they could find them on their own. Literacy workers would use them more frequently too-if they knew what was available. Some teachers, however, did admit they would need some training about how to bring these materials to mixed groups of learners (men and women from multiple cultures). This has been fascinating work which has taken me to the develop WE LEARN (Women Expanding: Literacy Education Action Resource Network at www.litwomen.org/welearn.html).

For the most part, "feminist" or "womanist" do not seem to be the primary language used by educators when talking about "women's experiences," "women's learning," or "women and literacy". Susan Imel and Sandra Kerka (1996) offer some reasons for why literacy workers have shied away from feminism-negative connotations; lack of representation of women who are not white and middle-class; women not self-identified as feminist. My own work with women learners sheds further light on this topic. On two separate occasions in book groups with learners when I did use the words feminist or feminism, women learners did not know what the word meant. They had never encountered the word before so had no idea what I was meaning. Explained simply as a movement for women's rights, "feminist" was a term that they could accept.

Imel and Kerka (1996) suggest that "an analysis of the relationship between feminist theory and women and literacy could increase an understanding of the contributions of feminism to the field and shed light on many of the current issues" (p. 52). Furthermore, I would also hope that perspectives from adult women learners and literacy workers would also gain visibility and inform those activists and academics who develop feminist theory.

On a quiet and parallel quest, I have been looking for research and basic materials specific to an even more marginalized community-lesbians. After searching for the past several years, both consciously and in passing, I have found very little research on lesbian and gay issues in adult literacy. I have not found many references in the adult basic education literature and even fewer references in lesbian and gay studies literature. From this I make these assumptions:
- homophobia is rampant in the field of adult basic education
- adults with basic or limited literacy skills remain invisible to academics doing gay, feminist and queer studies

We cannot assume that learners are disinterested in talking about lesbian and gay issues. Last spring (2001) I held a series of conversation circles with adult women learners about their reading interests, especially in reference to women-centered literacy materials.

In one group, a young mother said (somewhat out of the blue), "I would like to know what to do if my son tells me he's gay." In another group of African American women, a learner, in passing while we were making a list, said simply, "a book on gay stuff." Two married women mentioned being tomboys and liking sports and were trying to find reading materials about women in sports. Were these coded messages about their own sexuality or "bisexuality"? Several women mentioned wanting to be able to talk to their daughters about sexuality and dating boys. This may have been a way to introduce, "what if they like girls"?

Adult learners are like the rest of us in society. They may or may not themselves be gay or lesbian. They may or may not be wrestling with their own issues of sexual identity. They may have colleagues, family members, or friends who are gay or lesbian and they may be wondering about their own feelings about it or wondering what kind of allies they can become. The research on gay issues in adult basic literacy is practically non-existent. I would therefore like to end by sharing a resource list of current research and adult literacy materials on glbt issues and by proposing a research agenda:

- What percentage of adult learners is gay or lesbian? Does homophobia in learning centers keep sexual minorities from using those services?
- How do programs and/or teachers reinforce heterosexuality and deny homosexuality? What affect does this have on the lesbian and gay and heterosexual learners?
- What are the effects of heterosexism on learning? Are there learning styles unique to sexual minorities?
- What literacy basic reading materials are available on topics of homosexuality and how have educators used them?
- What pressures and issues are felt by lgbt literacy workers and volunteers?

Native Women, Technology, and Literacy in Ontario: AlphaRoute for the Native Stream

First Nations communities are enjoying a cultural and educational revitalization. The Native literacy community in Ontario, in particular, is strong and vibrant. However, it also struggles with issues such as isolation, few tutors, as well as lack of access to child-care resources and libraries. One project that hopes to address and alleviate some of these issues is AlphaRoute, an on-line learning environment that helps learners increase their literacy skills while learning more about Native cultural and traditional teachings.

In the interest of getting a better picture of what learners experience when they complete learning activities on the Web, the Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (MTCU) as well as the National Literacy Secretariat (NLS) initiated a project called AlphaRoute in 1996. Phase 1 of AlphaRoute convinced the partners that a web-based environment had much to offer literacy learners. In the fall of 2001, a Native specific site was launched at a provincial Native Literacy Gathering in Keene, Ontario. All aspects of the design, from curriculum content to visual layout, to technical readiness, have been developed with a vision toward meeting the needs of Native literacy learners. AlphaRoute complements Native literacy programming by offering on-line content for adult learners enrolled in Native literacy programs. What makes AlphaRoute relevant is that it has been developed entirely by Native literacy professionals. Learners who have participated in a research pilot for the Native stream have enjoyed using the site, increasing their literacy skills and learning about various Native cultural teachings such as the teachings of the Medicine Wheel and the teachings of the 7 Grandfathers. The content of the curriculum supports aboriginal cultural approaches to learning and teaching by using a cultural teaching such as those mentioned above to help learners improve their literacy skills. Plans for AlphaRoute for the Native stream include the development of more skills based, culturally relevant curriculum in all of the Literacy Basic Skills learning outcomes levels from 1 through to 5. There are also plans to include various Native cultural teachings to reflect the diversity of Native culture in the Province of Ontario.

I will address the specific learning issues facing Native women learners and how some of these issues have been addressed through the use of an online resource such as AlphaRoute for the Native stream. The findings from the research pilot, which included three Native literacy programs in Ontario, will be discussed. Personal reflections and feedback from practitioners regarding women learner skills development will also be discussed.

Conclusions

It is hoped that the different perspectives presented in this symposium will encourage audience participants to think about women in adult literacy programs. Voices representing the concerns of health, trauma, material appropriateness, orientation issues, and Native issues are too infrequently discussed in the field of adult literacy. After each speaker has a chance to share her thoughts, the audience will be invited to participate in an interactive conversation to address implications for adult literacy programs, policies, and future research studies.

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EDITING FOR HEALTHY PUBLIC POLICY:
How Documentary Videos and Films Affect Transformational Changes

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Symposium Overview

In this symposium, three experienced adult educators will present their learning as video and film producers. They will discuss the intricate balance between their roles as adult educators and documentary story producers. They will argue that the complex process of researching and producing a video or film story involves educating a diverse group of film and video professionals, and importantly, potential funders. For the producer-learner-facilitator, the process is one that may involve great personal learning, but to succeed in a transformational way, the activity of story production is inescapably collaborative, and jointly creative in nature. The activity itself opens terrains for transformation.

The importance of storytelling, through various forms of narrative, including the first person, will be highlighted through examples of film clips. The producers/presenters make explicit links between adult education narrative/storytelling theory/research, practice, and transformative learning. The goal of influencing healthy public policy is addressed and specific examples of past and current film production analysed for the actual/potential impact upon the development of healthy public policy locally, nationally and internationally.

In sum, the symposium presenters introduce themselves and illustrate how transformative learning and paradigm shifts are reflected in their filmography and videography. Each producer/presenter will reflect on films and videos they have produced and consider the synergies between on camera participants and their stories, the audiences who view the stories, personal responses, and shifts in public policies. Persons attending the symposium will be invited to share their views about how film and video stories may have impacted public policy, or may have created episodes of transformative learning in their own lives.

Producing a Film That Matters: A Case Study of Fundraising for Change for Early Exposures: Children's Health & The Environment
Geraldine (Jody) Macdonald RN EdD

The story of fundraising for this film is one of commitment, surrender, and hope. The commitment was essential, because the controversy inherent in the film was threatening to dominant funders, most of whom are committed to either the biomedical model of excellence, or the corporate model of shared funding. The experience was one of surrender to the process of establishing the credibility of the film through seeking letters of support, which the producer knew would be important in both engendering support from the film, health, and education communities. And the fundraising was a process of hope, hope that there would be funders who would be convinced that this film mattered. I sustained my hope, despite many polite rejections, through a sense of personal purpose and meaning, through the collective energy of the caring of the producers/editors, and through a sense of connecting with an unfolding reality whose time had come.

Commitment

Commitment reflects passion, and passion is a marker of feelings, engaged feelings, feelings that matter. My passion for making this film is rooted in a personal story. It is the story of my then ten year old daughter Joana , whom I love dearly, and who is celebrating her thirteenth birthday today, as I write this paper. In the early fall of Joana's 10th year, I noticed a small mole growing on her face, on her soft, round, left cheek. It seemed an odd place for a mole to grow, and being very obvious, one which I drew my attention. In November, I took her into the walk in clinic near my home and asked the physician to examine the mole. The physician did, drew a picture of it in Joana's chart, and stated that it seemed perfectly harmless. I left feeling relieved, but over the next few months noticed that it was changing, still small, but it seemed to be two toned now. In February, I made an appointment and took her into her pediatrician's office. He examined it briefly and said he wasn't concerned but that he would send me downstairs to the dermatologist to have it removed if I was concerned.

Sitting in the waiting room at the Hospital for Sick Children was an unusual experience for me. I was used to being the nurse, not the mother of the patient. Eventually we were seen by a kindly older physician, who stated he used to be the Chief of Dermatology but was going to be retiring in a few months. He looked at Joana's mole, said there was nothing to worry about, but it didn't look all that great, and would I like him to take it off? I quickly agreed and happily held Joana's hand while he froze her cheek, removed the mole, and applied a simple bandage. Off we went home and I contratulated myself on getting it removed. I knew that many dermatologists preferred to watch moles rather than remove them.

I was stunned to have a phone call three days later by the physician who stated that the mole had been sent to a specialist and had atypical cells that could be, but were not positively, melanoma (malignancy assumed). Joana had to come in to have more tissue removed just in case, to make sure that he had removed all of the atypical cells. So off we went back to the hospital to meet the new head of dermatology for a pre-operative appointment. My husband and I explained to Joana that she had a growth and that the doctor needed to take more skin off, that she would be put asleep for a short time and that all would be well. The physician, pleasant and concerned, was more direct. He explained that she might have cancer and that he would make sure we had removed all of the cells, but it might spread and kill her! Sitting beside Joana I can only say I was unprepared and angry that he had told Joana this without consulting us first. The word melanoma meant nothing to Joana, but the word cancer was full of meaning. Her big brown eyes opened wide, and tears formed in them. I hugged her but I couldn't protect her innocence. She was vulnerable and she knew it, and now all I could do was manage the feelings and as a valued colleague suggested "suppress this knowledge". A few days later Joana's day surgery was completed and we came home, ready to put all behind us and focus on her future together.

While I had been aware of the links between environment and health prior to Joana's experience with her mole, living out this experience strengthened my resolve to do what I could to create awareness of the links between environment and health, and to participate in the healing of the planet. When Dorothy, a fellow doctoral student, and I began talking about a funding opportunity, knowing of Dorothy's experience with making the film Exposure: Environmental Links to Breast Cancer, it seemed natural to talk about making a film about children's health and the environment. The working title of Early Exposures: Children's Health and the Environment emerged easily. When we began the fundraising, I learned a lesson about how hard fundraising can be.

Surrender and Hope

The first step in fundraising was to identify our project clearly. A Project Summary was written: A one hour documentary film on the connections between children's health and early exposure to our contaminated environment in response to the growing public recognition of "environment" as a determinant of health. To raise awareness and to offer positive strategies to protect children and to generate the social and political will to create a health sustaining community/planet. No film has yet been made on this subject in a Canadian context. Our Budget was set for $ 298,000.00. In May of 2001, this target seemed reasonable for fundraising, as children's health and the environment was such an important topic. I felt sure that I could convince funders of the importance of supporting this film. Dorothy and I enthusiastically set out to complete an application for the Change Foundation 2001 Grants competition. This sparked us to begin to collect letters of support, letters that would be crucial to demonstrate to potential funders that the children's health and environment agencies were in support of us as producers and our film proposal. As we went through the application process, we realized that we had everything needed but matching funds from the corporate/private world. Although the Change Foundation is publically supported, matching funds were essential to have our application considered.

Not a problem, I thought, surely there must be corporations that would be proud to represent children's health. I began canvassing friends for corporate contacts, and set out to woo them. Dorothy and I became experts at presentations, and engaged in many meaningful discussions. All agreed that our film was important, but the notion of challenging the dominant corporate and medical community by focusing on environmental principles and policies was not comfortable. The rejections letters began piling up, one by one, just as quickly as the letters of support from such wonderful organizations as : **Canadian Environmental Law Association, Canadian Institute of Child Health, Learning Disabilities Association of Canada, Canadian Association of Physicians for the Environemnt, Environmental Health Committee of the Ontario College of Family Physicians, Centre for Health Promotion- University of Toronto, Pollution Probe, Paediatric Environmental Health Specialty Unit- Misericordia Child Health Clinic – University of Alberta, International Institute of Concern for Public Health, Toronto District School Board-Department of Environmental Education, Environmental Health Clinic- Sunnybrook and Women's Health Sciences Centre, Sierra Club, Canadian Auto Workers, Institute for Children's Environmental Health (US), and Lowell Centre for Sustainable Production (US).**

The letters of support were central in helping us sustain our hope for this project. So many people and agencies were waiting for the film, hoping to be able to use it to educate professionals and citizens and protect the children in Canada. But I had to learn to surrender to the reality that corporations were not comfortable funding a controversial film that would challenge the status quo and argue for change. Letters of request for funding support to Elizabeth Whitmer, then Minister of the Environment,and former Minister of Health were met with total distain. Her assistant called once to speak to me, we played telephone tag, and eventually she left a message stating that the Minister had no time to speak with me. Tony Clement, the Minister of Health and Long-Term Care, responded to my letters of request for funding by sending a letter which stated that his ministry was working with other ministries to" reduce and /or eliminate the health impacts on children and other age groups from exposure to environmental contaminants"(Tony Clement, Minister, letter dated July 11, 2001). He was not available to meet with us and did not have any funding to support this project. The National Film Board was somewhat interested, but not into doing social justice oriented films, they were focusing on human interest stories, not critical social documentaries. The CBC wasn't quite sure what it was into, and didn't seem very promising.

Next we turned to private foundations, in both Canada and the USAas our film was to have a North American focus. September 11, 2001 possibly changed the landscape of funding agencies. The Rockefeller Family Fund wrote to say "We only provide funding to organizations within the United States" (Maureen McCarthy, Grants Administrator, letter dated January 3, 2002). The Ittleson Foundation wished us success but stated the foundation "does not provide funds for projects and organizations that are international in scope or purpose" (Anthony C. Wood, Executive Director, letter dated January 16, 2002). The McConnell Family Foundation sent a letter of regret, the Wallace Global Fund the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation stated they did not support films, the Canadian International Development Agency web site stated they did support independent films but our letter sent asking when the next deadline was had no response. The Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation in New York, the David Suzuki Foundation , the Robert Schad Foundation, and the PEW Charitable Trust were not promising enough to complete an application.

The tension between the letters of support which continued to arrive and the refusal of granting agencies, foundations, and publically supported organizations to fund the film **sustained** energy, as tension usually does, but it has been a difficult journey. Fortunately, Dorothy had many personal contact who have been most generous, including individuals who have given personal cheques from $50.00 to $200.00 and $1,000.00 from CELA, the Canadian Environmental Law Association. While municipal and provincial governments have not provided a penny, the Federal Ministry – Environemnt Canada - hopes to provide $10,000.00. A generous grant of $20,000.00 from the Archangel Rhea Family Foundation (a personal contact of Dorothy) and $25,000.00 from the EJLB Family Foundation (a personal contact of Dorothy) have lead to a total of approximately $58,000.00 being raised to date.

And finally, changes in the leadership of the National Film Board led to renewed discussions about possible collaboration. After encouraging discussions with the National Film Board about a possible co-production, we are writing a formal proposal which will be submitted for the June 8,2002 proposal deadline.

So, while we have had to surrender to realities of post-September 11, 2001 funding policies, we have been sustained by our own commitment and letters of support from the many agencies committed to making our world a better place for our children. We are hopeful that our latest round of talks with the National Film Board will be productive, and our commitment remains strong. This film will be produced, its moment in time has arrived!

The Use of Film as a Tool for Transformative Learning in Peace and Environmental Health

Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg PhD, MES

> A speaker tends to relate to people on an intellectual level, while a film can open you up and make you receptive to a broad range of experiences. A film touches the heart and mind at the same time (Cristall and Emanuel, 1986).

At the National Film Board of Canada (NFB), while working with Challenge for Change and Studio D, the Women's Unit (1970s-80s), I became engaged in what we then called making and using "film as a tool for social change". Challenge for Change believed that such films and videos reflected the use of a form of citizens' communication concerned with broadening the base of participation and with bringing the views of a wider range of interest to decision makers. It believed that to encourage debate and dissent by such means reflected signs of healthy citizenship and not to be able to do so would be a cause for deep concern. The traditions of Studio D (no longer in existence) revolutionized documentary film making for social change that today would probably be described as "arts based learning" with links to popular adult education, transformative learning and alternative media.

Background:

I worked for 12 years with Challenge for Change, Studio D, and the Environment Studio of the NFB. I learned the value in and use of such audiovisuals which could touch hearts, minds and spirit so that people would find themselves transformed and begin to actively engage in these concerns.

In the early eighties, a particular film I was instrumental in initiating and later writing resource materials, and promoting was the academy award winning documentary, **"If You Love This Planet: Dr Helen Caldicott on Nuclear War"**. In it, Dr. Caldicott, an Australian pediatrician decried the medical impacts of nuclear war on humans within various distances of the epicentre of the blast. Literally hundreds of people told me that seeing/using that film transformed their lives forever. This and other films I consulted on, distributed, used in communities, workshops, conferences and other fora were resources that facilitated the feminist work for peace and social justice I was engaged in as an educator, researcher and policy change activist in Voice of Women for Peace and the James Bay Defense Committee. These remarkable resources helped to motivate learning and advocacy within our families, communities, workplaces, institutions and with decision makers since screenings and discussions were found to be an excellent way to cover many aspects of topics, not usually presented in contemporary society and the mainstream media. In the 70s and 80s, using videos for social change provided that alternative in many communities. In these activities, the NFB shared philosophies with alternative and radical media. Most of these films were not usually well known, they were rarely released theatrically as were commercial feature films, however, some would argue that they were (and still are) just as or perhaps more valuable than many seen in the dominant culture.

Recognizing that everywhere, people were trying to find alternative approaches to problems, NFB films were made about the re-democratization of communities and reflected many adult education ideas in that they encouraged and supported the development of similar ideas and actions. These films recognized mutual learning, stressed the creation of new knowledge and were directed toward social, economic or other forms of justice and democracy in communities. I have applied this learning to my current work with **Exposure: Environmental Links to Breast Cancer** and am doing so with the film Geraldine (Jody) Macdonald and I are producing on children's health and the environment.

In the mid 1990s, I became involved in the research, production and educational/training programs with the Gemini Award nominated documentary, **Exposure: Environmental Links to Breast Cancer.** The film and accompanying resource guide, **Taking Action for a Healthy Future** were conceived in response to the need for educational tools to inform and mobilize around the growing public debate about the implications of the contaminated world on our health. Narrated by survivor, singer, song writer, activist, Olivia Newton John, it features numerous scientists, physicians, artists, and other survivors. Materials produced to accompany the video; popular adult education seminars and training workshops; presentations at community, academic, institutional, health professional, policy fora etc. have helped to change perceptions, attitudes and behaviour and in some cases has contributed to the development of concrete policy changes such as bylaws to ban pesticides. This was the case of Dr. Nicole Bruinsma, who began to use the video in her town of Chelsea, Quebec to that end after seeing it at the First World Conference on Breast Cancer (1997). By the end of 2001, it had been versioned into French, Spanish, Cantonese, Bahasa Indonesian, Hebrew, with Japanese, Serbo Croatian and several other languages forthcoming.

Education and Distribution: Training Trainers, Courses, Community/Professional Outreach...

Film itself does not effect change, that must be carried out by those who are organizing and working on the issues. However, experience has shown that as people have begun to use the film **Exposure**, it has been important to participate in **Training Trainers Workshops.** The workshops help participants to understand the complexity of the issues, heighten their sense of confidence and achievement and give them hope and encouragement in their work ahead. As an example, the coordinator of a youth project remarked that those young people's thinking was changed forever and there was no going back.

I also use films extensively in the course I teach, Environmental Health, Transformative Learning and Policy Change: Education for Social and Ecosystem Healing. It is given through the Transformative Learning Centre of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education University of Toronto (OISE/UT), in collaboration with the Centre for Health Promotion, University of Toronto and the Women's Health and Environment Network (WHEN).

With the September 11th, 2001 violent attacks on the World Trade Centre, the Pentagon and in Pennsylvania in the U.S., and violent response, more than ever, there is a need for tools for education on peace, justice and health issues. It has become obvious how the world's biggest military and economic powers can use their force to destroy populations and the very earth we depend on and are a part of. While there were calls for vengeance and violent retaliations from some quarters, there were corresponding calls for diplomatic solutions in multilateral fora and addressing the ensued racism by resurrected peace communities all over the world.

In keeping with the NFB's notion of films (and resources) for social change, we need to encourage people to use such films and to be part of a widespread effort to help to make the world a more peaceful, liveable, safer, kinder place. Videos such as **Exposure, If You Love this Planet, Speaking Our Peace, Drumbeat for Mother Earth, Uranium, Manufacturing Consent, Who's Counting: Marilyn Waring on Sex, Lies and Global Economics and Gulf War Syndrome,** and **A Force more Powerful** (Ghandi, Mandela and others on non violence) can assist in educating for a more just and healthy world. They can also give hope and strength to those who feel frustrated, angry or hopeless about issues of concern. But as we are reminded by many in these films, that we need to act now.

There will always be much to be done but we can borrow from the resource guide, Taking Action for a Healthy Future in saying:

> We know that these issues require advocacy to reshape the future. Despite grave problems, the tides of destruction must be turned as indeed they have been in many communities where the public has become aroused.

We can learn from Canadian author and poet, Margaret Atwood who wrote:

> Powerlessness and silence go together. We in this country should use our privileged positions not as a shelter from the world's reality but as a platform from which to speak. A voice is a gift. It should be cherished and used.

and Anthropologist Margaret Mead who wrote:

> Never doubt that a small number of dedicated people can change the course of history, indeed its the only thing that ever has.

Public Television: Learning through Storytelling and "The Disability Network"

William McQueen, MEd.

One of the characteristics of the systemic exclusion of people with disabilities from Canadian society has been their isolation from other citizens. Keep in mind that the historic isolation of disabled people has not only been physical, but also ideological. The ideology of the "pity model"has been a major stumbling block. Adjustments to the physical layout of society saw the introduction of curbcuts and ramps during the UNO International Decade of Persons with Disabilities in the1980s, and toward the middle of that decade, disabled persons **themselves** began to use the public airwaves to tell their stories as they sought to achieve full, social emancipation and to become real citizens in their own land.[1]

This movement resulted in the creation of a weekly radio show that aired on CIUT-FM at the University of Toronto. During these "radio days", the producers and hosts made their first connections with the training department of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and later, met with the CBC architects who were designing a new Broadcast Center and who modified their blueprints to ensure that all parts, and especially production areas of the new building would be accessible to people with disabilities.

It was in 1990 that **"The Disability Network"** (DNET) first went on the air across the countryon CBC TV. And, during the next seven years, more than 200 programmes were created by a team of talented, and enterprising persons with disabilities.[2] Through approximately 70 documentaries and regular, current affairs programming, the stories of the real lives of disabled persons, **told through their own voices and images**, made their way through public broadcasting to other persons with disabilities, as well as the able-bodied population. The cameras of DNET followed the public policy makers and parliamentarians, too, and never flinched in revealing the desire of people with disabilites to be not only included, but live fully independent lives.[3]

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[1] William McQueen, "Struggling to be Heard: Celebrating Our Stories" in 12th Annual Proceedings of ACÉÉA-CASAE (1993) pp.188-9.

[2] A full listing of DNET programming can be found at www.fireweedmedia.ca.

Thus, the empowerment of "First Person Storytelling" was several fold. No longer did people with disabilities have to rely on others to tell their stories through the "pity" lens. Persons with disabilities began to learn how to tell their own stories, they then told their stories and from that process developed and became their own leaders, too. At the same time, public policy towards people with disabilities in Canada came under direct public scrutiny. For example, one mini-series followed the members of the Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights and the Status of Disabled persons to the Akwesane First Nation's reserve to reveal the horrendous conditions under which children with disabilities and their families were living.

The show also served as a training ground for people with disabilities in the media itself. Ex-DNETers are now working in media and related fields all across Canada, CNN in Atlanta, and in Israel. CBC news departments across the country developed new awareness as DNET producers would regularly pitch ideas to assignment editors from coast to coast.

Since the show left the air in 1997, the producers of DNET created a new business entity, Fireweed Media Productions Inc. Fireweed is the only media company owned and operated by persons with disabilities in Canada.. FIREWEED has many of the same objectives as the original DNET, to tell stories about and by people with disabilities, to increase representation of people with disabilities, in front of and behind the camera, and microphone. It also has interests in the stories of the ecology, nature, culture and history and wellness.

After its metamorphosis, Fireweed producers have developed videos for Accessibility Services to affect outlook and best practices in the UT community; another video encourages the development of entrepreneurship among disabled people in training organizations; and still another example are five video stories to help build awareness in business and community organizations in Peel, Halton and Dufferin counties of the Province of Ontario.

There is emence potential and social power in the use of first person narratives to enrich television and video storytelling. This form of narrrative encourages, and demands accurate portrayal. It promotes social change, and influences the people who make healthy public policy at all community levels.

One in seven Canadians has a disability (one in five Americans, because of the Vietnam War), but when you watch television today, you still would never know it. Not a lot has changed in the 12 years since DNET was launched. 12 years ago. There's still a lot of work to do, and there are no real guarantees. It is a story that continues for many generations to come.

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[3] Judith Snow, "Restructuring for an Inclusive World: Recognizing Other Voices. in 12th Annual Proceedings of ACÉÉA-CASAE (1993) pp.189-190.

The Era of Shattered Democracies and Impoverished Capitalism: Adult Education in the aftermath of September 11, 2001

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"The Earth is Closing on us"

Michael R. Welton

Perhaps the signs of our sad times lie in the jumbled books tossed together on Islam lying on a table near the entrance to the library at Mount St. Vincent University a few days after 9/11. Caught blind, the university searched its shelves, and could only come up with a few texts written mainly by western students of comparative religion. Just a jumble…the west knows best…or not at all.

Intellectuals and educators should be in a state of shock and utter dismay at the mounting evidence, despite our good intentions, that our attempts in the academy and out in public spheres to foster a culture of critical discourse do not appear to have gone very deep, or even anywhere at all. The Canadian mass media coughs up pundits who can, apparently, write about anything at any time. They tell us nothing much, or worse, deceive us or even lie to us. That only 12% of Canadians, according to a recent **Globe and Mail** report (March 16, 2002), support the Palestinian cause is utterly shocking evidence of a firewall built round critical historical consciousness of the 35 year old Israeli occupation of Palestine. In the U.S. mainstream media has fused into an instrument of propaganda for the state. Anti-Arab intellectuals pop up in think tanks and spout fancy nonsense about the "clash of civilizations". Samuel Huntingdon, author of the latter phrase, apparently wanted to counter Francis Fukuyama's "end of history" thesis as they jostled for power within the state department. A phoney thesis like "clash of civilizations" can only survive in western intellectual circles that know nothing much about the Arab world (there are 300 million Arabs, and 1.2 Muslims in our world) and constructs "truths" about the other from the complacent centre of the new Pax Americana.

My model of the engaged intellectual, the exiled Palestinian intellectual Edward Said, has taught us much about what he called "Orientalism." In **Covering Islam (1981)**, Edward Said demonstrated convincingly that many educative forms (schools, cartoons, books, comic strips and films) constructed a uniform iconography of Islam and the Arab. This unquestioned iconography provides the perceptual frame that profoundly inhibits an open, learning relationship to the other. Perhaps it is this orientalist frame that makes it easy for the North American masses to be deceived into thinking that Israel is engaging in self-defense and Palestine in terrorism, and for many horrible acts committed in country after country by the U.S. government with scarcely a peep from anyone. Perhaps Orientalism makes it easy for a shady character like Silvio Berlusconi to announce that the West "should be confident of the superiority of our civilization and reconstitute itself on the basis of its Christian roots." The UK's Tony Blair seized the moment and, pronouncing the arrival of a new age of danger, insisted that this new age requires the "application of a new world order." And the witless George W. Bush, Jr., seizing his moment, announced a new "crusade." Sorry George, whispered his cagey advisors, but you must get your lines right. This is a "war against terrorism" and not "Islam." It just so happens that all the terrorists are followers of Islam.

Critical humanist intellectuals are committed to getting at the truth no matter what the cost. The best among us speak, perhaps too complacently, about "speaking truth to power." We easily succumb, it seems, to Power's marketing of the truth. The Cold War was marketed as a battle between "good and evil." Reagan spoke glowingly of the "evil empire." Now, a new evil. But Washington didn't seem to think that giving support to "terrorists" like the Contras in Nicaragua was immoral. Through the CIA the US consciously endorsed projects of murder, hijacking, sabotage and assassination: in Cuba against the government of Castro, against the Sandinistas, and in Afghanistan against the Soviets (when Bin Laden was on the US's side).

What kind of educational infrastructure makes it so easy for all of us to succumb, to forget, to deny, to stop short? "The earth is closing on us, pushing through the last/passage, and we tear off our limbs to pass through." The cry of Palestine's national poet, Mahmoud Darwish. "The earth is squeezing us. I wish we were wheat so we/could die and live again." The truth is a bitter drink. We cannot bear to teach our children that the world is unsafe and bursting with violence and corruption. We will stop short and comfort them, whispering gentle lies into their little ears. "Everything will be all right."

As critical intellectuals and adult educators, can we find a vision to uplift the spirit? A good beginning might be to reject the idea that our vocation as critical intellectuals ends with the affirmation of our own identities, traditions, uniqueness, and their playing-out in an endless game of difference. We need to go on and situate the identities of our students and ourselves in a geography of other identities, people, culture, and then study how, despite the differences, they always overlap with each other through non-hierarchical influences, crossings, incorporation, recollection, deliberate forgetfulness. Huntington is wrong: civilizations and identities cannot be shut down and faced off against each other.

As critical intellectuals, we must oppose magical thinking and quick bloody solutions. Bin Laden's message can take deadly root, in part, because of a primary education that is "woefully piecemeal, cobbled together out of the Qur'an, rote exercises based on outdated 50-year old textbooks, hopelessly large classes, woefully equipped teachers, and a nearly total inability to think critically. Along with the oversized Arab armies—all of them burdened with unusable military hardware and no record of any positive achievements—this antiquated apparatus has produced the bizarre failures in logic, moral reasoning, and appreciate of human life that lead either to leaps of religious enthusiasm of the worst kind or to a servile worship of power" (Said, Al-Ahram, October 25-31, 2001). Similar failures in logic and vision operate on the Israeli side. How has it come to seem morally possible, and justifiable, for Israel to maintain and defend violently its 35 year occupation? Why no international uproar? And in Canada, the public schools and their battery of universities appear before the courts of reason accused of abysmal failure of vision and logic. Newspeak rules the day.

Critical intellectuals need to assert the importance interaction and debate; this must not be refused; we are suspicious of, and come to hate, those we know nothing about. The only education program worth being committed to promotes co-existence, citizenship and the worth of human life.

Educating for Peace: Making the Critical Connections

Maliha Chisti

The layers of violence embedded in the events of September 11th and its aftermath, accentuate the urgency for a renewed and rigorous approach to educating for pace, in efforts to reinvigorate the peace and anti-war movement. Against the dictates of mass media, peace and social justice educators are working to position counter narratives against dominant constructions, by making the critical connections between this "new war against terrorism" with racism, globalization, neo-imperialism, patriarchy, fundamentalism and militarization. Recognizing that a comprehensive and interlocking approach to the notion of "peace" is imperative, peace education is taken up to speak to the range of structural and systemic forces which have not only created the conditions of overt violence and conflict, but are of themselves devoid of peace. In these efforts, educating for peace post-September 11th has become a daunting and complicated task, as peace education is increasingly fused with varied critical perspectives. In this sense, it is arguable that peace education in of itself is limiting, without its intersections with human rights, feminist, anti-racist and Marxist discourse. This broad based approach to peace education has been necessary, yet has not sufficiently paved the path for a broad based peace and anti-war alliance. In fact it can be argued that perhaps the failure of consolidating a comprehensive movement for peace is intrinsically related to the lack of conceptualization within the current framework of peace education. Salomon's words are highly relevant.

"What is peace education? What is the core of peace education, its defining attributes? What, if anything, distinguishes its most prototypical instantiations from other, similar fields?…Numerous programs are called "peace education", ranging from violence reduction in schools to learning about war and peace, and from democratic education to the cultivation of self-esteem. Subsuming all of these under the superordinate category of peace education tends to blur important distinctions…. Similarly, too wide a category tends to lump together programs designed to cultivate universal peaceful outlook with programs aimed at promoting a peaceful disposition toward a particular group, race or nation to replace collective sentiments of hatred, discrimination, and hostility" (G. Salomon and B. Nevo, "Peace Education: an active field in need for research," paper presented at a Peace Education Conference, The University of Haifa, November 7-8, 1999: 5-6).

In the aftermath of September 11th, there is a need to revisit the constraints and possibilities of peace education. Some of the critical issues point to re-examining peace education as it relates to its foundations in disarmament and conflict resolution. Has peace education become "cluttered" by diverse discourses? The foundational principles of disarmament and conflict resolution remain salient among many North American peace educators. Betty Reardon, for example, identifies peace with reconciliation, educating for disarmament and the prospects for achieving peace with reflection on shared values (B. Reardon, **Comprehensive Peace Education: Educating for global responsibility** [New York and London: Teachers College Press], 1988: 69). The Hague Appeal for Peace's Global Campaign for Peace Education launched in 1999, on the other hand, calls for grounding peace education within the overarching framework of human rights, echoing UNESCO's framework that there can be no genuine peace without human rights (PeaceMatters November 2001 issue. Newsletter of the Hague Appeal for Peace: 4). Peace education within the multicultural discourse emphasizes diversity as a precondition for peace, and feminists emphasize the links of patriarchy and war. Further, peace in global education is considered incomplete with malnutrition, extreme poverty and the refusal of the rights of people to self-determination. These multiple and interdependent aspects of peace have created a holistic and integrated framework for peace education, which offer an important context towards understanding many of the issues that surround the state of the world-post-September 11th. What is difficult to discern, however, is the value added of "peace education" vis-à-vis other forms of social justice education that equally offer an integrated analysis.

Perhaps where peace education falls short is most evident in the context of this "new war against terrorism", which has brought attention to the critical need of rooting an anti-racist and anti-racist and anti-colonial lens to understanding and interrogating the state of our world, and the configurations of power and privilege that exist to establish and define the institutional parameters of what is truth and falsehood, what is morally right and wrong, and what is just versus unjust. Peace education in its common practice highlights the framework of rupturing the culture of violence, but in doing so, has largely failed to interrogate the underlying assumptions, belief systems and structural forms of power that sustain euro-centricism that very plainly set out not only the parameters of war and violence, but also of peace. In response an anti-colonial perspective would perhaps propose favouring contingency, localism, difference, and uniqueness as the starting point for a declared non-Western-ethnocentric-oriented peace education. One that would erode the implicit and explicit undertones of the new war, which propagate an us versus them binary. An anti-racist vantage point would give voice to all those identities that have been denied, effaced or despised by those whose visibility and acceptance is underscored by their economic and political power. Peace education would mean including the history and experience of those who have been marginalized or ignored because of their language, religion, sexuality, ethnicity, race, age, disability or nationality. This inclusion would invalidate a form of epistemic violence, and interrupt a history of "otherizing" that has consistently created legitimate enemies and has made both military and non-military imperialist interventions by the west morally justifiable.

Irrespective of these absences, peace education in and of itself seems to be a "soft" approach that is unable to stand alone in dismantling the "culture of violence", and is at the same time, also incapable of weaving a broad based movement for peace. Its potential to re-ignite the peace and anti-war movement in the aftermath of September 11th remains to be seen, but somehow does not seem promising.

Adult Education in the aftermath of September 11, 2001

Dr. Shahrzad Mojab

The September 11 terrorist attack has brought into sharp focus the web contradictions that make up our world. This terrifying event has highlighted many contradictions of the "new" capitalist world order. Before September 11, neo-conservatives victoriously had raised one banner: "All power to the market." Today, they have raised another banner: "All power to the state and its coercive organs." This politics negates freedom, liberty, and equality—the main pillars of liberal democracy. Economically, advocates of free market capitalism have had a monopoly of power in the world for about a decade after the fall of the state capitalist economies of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. However, a series of powerful anti-globalization movements since Seattle have challenged the market-centred world order. Before September 11th, the U.S., Canada and the European Union were working toward an effective control of these movements. Now the coercive organs of the state have been empowered by new legislation to curb civil liberties, dissent, and resistance. Ironically, terrorists have succeeded in creating fear, and thereby intimidating citizens to give up hard won civil liberties.

Before September 11th, adult education was, like other cultural, social and intellectual efforts, subjected to the interests of the market. It is not clear yet how the attack on civil liberties will affect (adult) education. However, pressures on civil society, and constraints on public spheres and even academic freedom are already visible. While the market had already pushed civil society to the corner, the state and the mainstream media may further reduce it to a non-entity through surveillance, and the control of social movements. In the absence of social movements, the monopoly of power by the state/market may have a devastating impact on democracy. Adult education can play a role in reversing the current trend if educators realize the seriousness of these developments. What is the role of adult education under conditions of incessant political and economic crises that threaten prospects for democratic life throughout the world? The assault on civil liberties has worried people with various political tendencies, ranging from anarchists to liberals to feminists to Marxists. I situate my analysis of the current crisis in Marxist-feminist terms.

The official Canadian interpretation of the post-September 11th world is borrowed directly from the Bush Administration, and is adopted by mainstream media and much of academia, and through them, a sizeable number of citizens. According to this interpretation, a number of Fundamentalist Islamic groups want to destroy Western civilization, its regime of freedom and democracy, and way of life. The West must protect itself by physically eliminating or disabling them. There are no "root causes" of terrorism. There are no links between terrorism and other ills such as poverty, domination, oppression, neo-colonialism and imperialism. If you find any links between U.S. foreign policy and terrorism, you justify the terrorist attack of September 11th. You are either with George W. Bush or with the terrorists.

The Production of Terrorism

Phenomena such as terrorism have multiple causes. However, even if (a big if) one could establish U.S. foreign policy as the only cause, there is no justification for the mass murder of September 11th. No one, individuals, groups or governments, should feel free to commit such crimes against human beings, at times of peace or war. Moving away from the simplistic, official truth, I emphasize the terrorism of the Taliban, Bin Laden and their likes were directed primarily against the people of Afghanistan and the Middle East. The crimes perpetrated, by pro-Western mujahideen and the Taliban, on the people of Afghanistan and especially the women are unprecedented in the history of the region. Moreover, the two sides, the US and the Islamic fundamentalists, do not form a binarism. Historically and politically, Islamic fundamentalism and western capitalism form a symbiosis, not a contradiction. The two sides have coexisted and mutually benefited from their relationship, much as slavery and capitalism or liberal democracy and racial apartheid coexisted in the United States for at least three centuries. Thus, Western powers, especially the US, supported, financed, trained and led Islamic fundamentalists against the democratic, nationalist, and communist movements and governments in Islamic countries and against the Soviet bloc. Now, after the overthrow of the Taliban, much of Afghanistan is still under the rule of pro-US war lords and Islamic fundamentalists. A new round of symbiotic relationship is already in place.

It is difficult to see how military action can defeat the type of terrorism that was centred in Afghanistan. In fact, the experience of the first six months since September indicates that there is no military solution, even in the short run. Ironically, Western governments have been more successful in constraining the civil liberties of their citizens than curbing fundamentalist terrorism.

Whither Adult Education?

If terrorism, in its Islamic or Western fascist forms, has multiple origins, the struggle against it, too, should be all round. In Islamic countries, fundamentalists thrive in an environment of abject poverty in the midst of wealth, under conditions of despotic regimes, and in the absence of justice, freedom, and citizen's rights. It is true that in this region as well as in the West, poverty and injustice are not the only causes of terrorism. The terrorist act at Oklahoma city, the blowing up of abortion clinics, the assassination of abortion doctors, and the burning of black churches in Texas are not motivated by poverty and injustice. However, a thriving civil society and an educated, conscious citizenry will act as the most powerful check on both non-state and state terrorisms. Limiting civil liberties and silencing critical thinking help the reproduction of terrorism and may be considered as forms of political and intellectual terrorism.

(Adult) education can make an important contribution to the struggle against terrorism, racism, neo-fascism, genocide, poverty and injustice. However, "the educator needs to be educated." As it is, adult education is geared to serve the interests of nation-building, state-building and the construction of the global empire of capital. Many adult educators know well this type of education is far from desirable (see the Hamburg Declaration), although we do not know how to gear education to the interests of the citizens. The anti-terrorists campaigns underway have targeted those forces that can effectively curb terrorism—social movements. Much of the most valuable knowledge we have today (including adult education itself), and much of the progress made since the French and American revolutions of the late eighteenth century, are due to the social movements. From the abolition of slavery to women's suffrage to abolition of capital punishment, we owe every step forward to social movements. The institutions of the state and market were usually the adversaries of abolition, suffrage rights and other changes. Adult education should move against the tide, and learn from its own history.

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